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The Long Red Scare: Anarchism, Antiradicalism, and Ideological Exclusion in the Progressive Era

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THE LONG RED SCARE:
ANARCHISM, ANTIRADICALISM, AND IDEOLOGICAL EXCLUSION IN THE
PROGRESSIVE ERA

A Thesis Presented

by

Adam Quinn

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The Faculty of the Graduate College

of

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ABSTRACT

From 1919 to 1920 the United States carried out a massive campaign against radicals, arresting and deporting thousands of radical immigrants in a matter of months, raiding and shutting down anarchist printing shops, and preventing anarchists from sending both periodicals and personal communications through the mail. This period is widely known as the First Red Scare, and is framed as a reaction to recent anarchist terrorism, syndicalist unionizing, and the Bolshevik Revolution. Though the 1919-20 First Red Scare was certainly unprecedented in its scope, it was made possible through a longer campaign against radicals, throughout which the US government constructed legal, ideological, and institutional apparatuses to combat radicalism and terrorism. This project explores the longer conflict between the US government and anarchists, focusing on the period between 1900 and 1920. It argues that the government sought to suppress radicalism not just due to anarchist terrorism or class antagonism, but also due to a broader ideology of antiradicalism that framed anarchist counterculture and connected ideas like free love and internationalism as a threat to the nation-state and to traditional American values. In trying to suppress radical counterculture years before the First Red Scare, the US government built its capacity for federal policing. And, by tying the battle against anarchist terrorism to a broader project of suppressing any idea considered to be radical or nontraditional, the US government controlled the kinds of ideas and people allowed within American borders through force, demarcating political limits to American nationality and citizenship.

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Although writing a history thesis sometimes feels like a deeply isolated effort, it is in fact a very collaborative endeavor. The narrative within this work was shaped not only by other historians' writings, by all those who have made historical sources available, and by the historical actors themselves, but also by those in my life who helped along the way.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Palmer Raids

On November 7, 1919, federal agents and local police coordinated to arrest thousands of people, mostly immigrants, in twelve cities simultaneously. The alleged crime of those arrested: holding radical political beliefs, or being connected to radical organizations. These radicals included syndicalists, who sought revolutionary change through unions. They included Communists, who were inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, as well as many socialists who sought more peaceful change through electoral change. And they included anarchists, whose belief in bringing about a stateless, egalitarian society was the very antithesis of the patriotic, capitalistic culture of post-war America. Though not all anarchists believed in violent revolution, to some in the US government, all anarchists were thought to be guilty of believing in this dangerous ideology and, now, were also guilty of political association with terrorists. Recent bombings, strike activity, and the Bolshevik Revolution seemed to provide the spark necessary for the long project of ridding the country of radicals to finally reach its culmination. A few years earlier, President Wilson had called these immigrant radicals, “Hyphenated Americans [who] have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life.... Such creatures of passion, disloyalty and anarchy must be crushed out.”¹ With the mass raids in

¹ Woodrow Wilson, "Third Annual Message to Congress," December 7, 1915. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. (accessed March 31, 2016) <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29556>.

1919, it seemed as though the time for these “creatures” to be “crushed out” had finally come.

Many of the arrests that day were warrantless, most of those arrested were held in secret locations without any communications allowed, and there were several allegations of federal agents beating detainees, forging documents to prove they were anarchists, and holding them in inhumane conditions. For example, one of those arrested in the raids, Gaspare Cannone, alleged that federal agents beat him when he claimed not to know those involved with an anarchist bombing earlier that year, forged his signature on a document claiming he was an anarchist, and lied under oath to discredit him. Given photographic evidence of Cannone’s injuries, the handwriting of the alleged forgery, and the many other arrestees alleging mistreatment, the historical consensus is that Cannone was telling the truth, despite media of the time claiming his allegations were merely “propaganda.”² Soon after the November raids, thousands more were arrested on January 2, 1920. Meanwhile, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, who spearheaded the effort, claimed the campaign was far from over, as there were more than 450,000 additional radicals residing in the United States left to find and deport.³

These raids, known today as the Palmer Raids, formed the core of the period from 1919-20 known as the First Red Scare. Despite being labeled with Palmer’s name, this massive project was hardly the work of one man, or even the US government alone. For a

² “Alleged Anarchist Says U.S. Agents Tortured Him,” *New-York Tribune*, April 16, 1920. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.
<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1920-04-16/ed-1/seq-22/>>.

³ Barbara Foley, *Spectres of 1919: Class and Nation in the Making of the New Negro* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 12.

time, antiradical hysteria seized the nation, as newspapers, business owners, and much of the public attacked anything associated with socialism, Communism, anarchism, or strike activity. Unions disavowed any connection with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a syndicalist union closely associated with anarchism. Just over a week after the Palmer Raids, three hundred members of the American Legion raided the office of the Socialist Party in Cincinnati, Ohio, reportedly burning hundreds of pounds of radical literature in the streets.⁴ This pales in comparison to the tons of literature reportedly seized by federal officials during the raids and the many radical publications banned, but the involvement of mobs in raiding radicals is telling of the widespread support antiradicalism had at the time.

Exact data on the total amount of arrests and deportations resulting from the Palmer Raids is unknown: many of the arrests were warrantless, and many radicals were deported under other immigration statutes and technicalities besides the Anarchist Exclusion Act, which originally justified the arrests.⁵ For example, Emma Goldman, a famed anarchist and a passenger on the so-called “Soviet Ark” (a ship whose passengers included 249 radical deportees in a December 1919 voyage for Russia), was deported due to technicalities regarding her husband’s naturalization, and wouldn’t be included in lists of those deported under the Anarchist Exclusion Act.⁶ Additionally, some anarchists fled the

⁴ “Legion Members Raid Cincinnati Socialists: Three Hundred ex-Soldiers and Officers Attack Headquarters, Burn Party Literature,” *New York Times* (New York, New York), November 19, 1919.

⁵ Wendy McElroy, “World War I and the Suppression of Dissent,” The Independent Institute. April 1, 2002. Accessed March 17, 2016. <http://www.independent.org/newsroom/article.asp?id=1207>

⁶ Kenyon Zimmer, “‘The Whole World is Our Country’: Immigration and Anarchism in the United States, 1895-1940” (PhD Diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2010), 330.

country to escape persecution, while others re-entered the country illegally following their deportation. In total, there were roughly ten thousand arrests and just under a thousand deportations under the Anarchist Exclusion Act.⁷ Of those arrested, many were beaten and faced torturous prison conditions. While initially garnering widespread support, by mid-1920 the Palmer Raids became known as a civil rights disaster when Louis Post, the Acting Secretary of Labor (who had been accused by Palmer of being too lenient on those arrested), testified to Congress about the unconstitutionality of the arrests and deportations.

Though the press and many in the government grew weary of Palmer's antiradical campaign following Post's testimony, the raids initially garnered widespread support from the public. In coverage from November 1919 to January 1920, some newspapers reported on accusations of brutality of the federal agents in these raids. None, however, decried the general project of rounding up radicals en masse for imprisonment and deportation. *The New York Times*, for example, only lamented about how the raids had not yet gone far enough. On November 23, the front page headline decried of, "Unpreparedness in the War against Radicalism." The *Times* likened this "to the unpreparedness which preceded our declaration of war against Germany," and reported that, once said war was over, "radicals [found] the opportunity to launch their own war, through the spread of seditious propaganda by word of mouth and by literature, against the country's institutions."⁸ The body of literature the US government sought to suppress was massive, and was largely produced by immigrants, as the *Times* reported, "In addition to books, pamphlets and

⁷ Zimmer, "The Whole World is Our Country," 330.

⁸ "UNPREPAREDNESS IN THE WAR AGAINST RADICALISM." *New York Times*, Nov 23, 1919.

leaflets got a wide circulation: the number of radical newspapers distributed in the areas of discontent soon exceeded 400. There are now 471 listed as radicals, of which 366 are in foreign languages.”⁹ For the US government, the war against Germany was swiftly supplanted by a war on radical ideas, and for much of the public, as expressed in *The New York Times*, this war was moving too slowly.

Despite *The New York Times* declaration of unpreparedness in 1919, in reality there was a great deal of preparation for this war against radicalism. The Haymarket Affair in 1886 saw several anarchists hanged, not for any evidence of direct involvement with the Chicago bombing, but for their political activities. Legislation specifically criminalizing anarchism or radicalism stretched back to 1902 at the state level and 1903 at the federal level, with the belief in anarchism according to various laws being grounds for arrest, imprisonment, revocation of citizenship, and deportation. Police and federal agents grappled with how to put these laws into practice over the course of the early twentieth century, while prosecutors and government officials found ways to articulate the persecution and exclusion of people for their politics.

This was, however, about much more than radical ideologies or even political violence. There were two smaller articles also on the front page of the *New York Times* the day it featured the headline about the war against radicalism: one about IWW activity in Germany during the war, and another titled, “Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes, As Reflected in their Publications.” The entire article was actually an excerpt from a

⁹ Ibid.

Department of Justice report, which concerned itself with “the ill-governed reaction toward race rioting... the threat of retaliatory measures in connection with lynching... the more openly expressed demand for social equality, in which... the sex problem is not infrequently included; fourth, the identification of the negro with such radical organizations as the IWW [and] the political stand assumed towards the present Federal Administration, the South in general, and incidentally, toward the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations.”¹⁰

This linking of antiradicalism and political violence to broader anxieties over the war and sedition, over race and immigration, and over sexual liberation seen here also began long before 1919. Along with radicalism, terrorism, feminism, anti-racism, and immigration were framed as interrelated threats to the US government, national morals and values, and to the racialized nation-state.

1.2. Defining Radicalism and Anarchism

Leftist ideologies including anarchism, syndicalism, and Communism fell under the umbrella terms of radicalism or political radicalism. To the people of the Progressive Era, radicalism was not a synonym to extremist terrorism (as it is often used colloquially), but even included pacifists. The press of the time typically used “radicals” interchangeably with “Reds” to speak broadly about the revolutionary left. None of the ideologies categorized under “radicalism” should be reduced only to their anti-capitalism; in addition to desiring a different political economy, adherents to these ideologies also pursued various

¹⁰ Ibid.

social issues like free love, anti-racism, and anti-imperialism. However, the primary thread shared between different radical ideologies was still their opposition to capitalism.

Of all of these ideologies, this thesis focuses the most on the US government's efforts attempts to suppress anarchism in particular, as it was anarchism that was the primary target of most antiradical activity in the decades leading up to 1919. While there were certainly other stripes of radicalism at the time, it was specifically anarchism that was the target of exclusionary and suppressive legislation. The logic for suppressing anarchism as an anti-government, anti-nationalist, and, in some cases, terroristic movement was subsequently applied to the wide variety of other ideas and ideologies labeled "radical," regardless of their views on the state and tactics. In short, like Communism being the center of attention during McCarthyist antiradicalism in the 1950s, anarchism formed the focal point for turn-of-the-century antiradicalism. But what is anarchism, exactly?

In his book *Transnational Radicals: Italian Anarchists in Canada and the US, 1915-1940*, Travis Tomchuk defines anarchism as a

left wing and anti-capitalist political philosophy that appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. It opposed (and still opposes) hierarchy and inequality in all its social and economic forms, including capitalism, the state, and private property. In the place of a hierarchical capitalist society, anarchism envisions one that is stateless, socialist, and self-managed, characterized by cooperation, democratic decision-making processes, and social and economic equality.¹¹

Tomchuk's definition here summarizes the core tenets of anarchism and provides a much clearer picture than a brief dictionary definition. Anarchists in the Progressive Era, though

¹¹ Travis Tomchuk, *Transnational Radicals: Italian Anarchists in Canada and the U.S. 1915-1940*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 13-14.

far from uniform in all of their views, generally believed in achieving social equality and individual freedom in a stateless society based on self-management and some form of direct or participatory democracy. Of course, not everyone living through the Progressive Era understood anarchism with such nuance.

In the context of US law and government, the definition of an anarchist was vague and somewhat contested. While some of the wording in anti-anarchist legislation implied that an anarchist was anybody who advocated the overthrow of government “by force or violence,” most officials with any oversight over the execution of the law insisted that an anarchist was anybody who didn’t believe in government, including “Quaker anarchists, people who do not believe in violence at all.”¹² As Chapter 2 will discuss, the punishment and deportation of those who believed in even a peaceable, philosophical anarchism was upheld in courts. Still, many others believed that anarchism was only illegal when it involved political violence. Most crucially in the story of the Palmer Raids, Acting Secretary of Labor Louis Post believed that, while “Congress has made no definition of an anarchist,” he believed it to only mean someone who advocated violence because the Anarchist Exclusion Act, “had phrases of ‘violence’ in it all the way through, except the one term ‘anarchist’, [so] the term ‘anarchist’ under that law must be construed in light of the ‘violence’ sections in the rest of the section.”¹³ To Post, since legislation against anarchists mentions the violent overthrow of the government throughout the text (though

¹² United States, Congress, House, and Committee on Rules. *Investigation of Administration of Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, in the Matter of Deportation of Aliens Hearings before the Committee on Rules, House of Representatives, Sixty-Sixth Congress, Second Session, on H. Res. 522.*, 231.

¹³ Ibid.

not specifically defining anarchism as such), the legal definition of anarchist should be understood as involving the advocacy of violence. Representative Philip Campbell (R-KS), the chairman of a committee investigating Post's lenient treatment of anarchists, countered that, "These high-brow anarchists, these college professors, these Harvard and Yale anarchists... who write articles on anarchy... who prate about the poor and their rights, are more dangerous than the poor ignorant fellow who is willing to take his hatchet and go out and break up the Government... Don't you think that the... high-brow philosophical anarchist is the more dangerous of the two?"¹⁴ When asked by Post to name what individuals he might be referring to, Campbell only clarified that he meant, "the millionaire type of anarchist, the college professor type of anarchist" and refused to name any examples.¹⁵ In legislation and Congressional proceedings, the US government did not venture into any more nuance in defining an anarchist than these two options: those who wanted to overthrow the government by force, or anyone who philosophically believed in a society without governments.

In American culture more broadly, anarchism held a similarly nebulous definition, with the stereotype of a bomb-throwing, dagger-wielding anarchist coexisting with a much more expansive definition that seemed to include anyone who held any anti-government sentiments. In July 1919, the industrialist Henry Ford brought a million dollar libel suit against a journalist of *The Chicago Tribune* for calling him an anarchist. The testimony in the lawsuit largely focused on what defined an anarchist, so the coverage of this case is

¹⁴ Ibid., 232.

¹⁵ Ibid., 232.

particularly illustrative of what the informed public would have understood anarchism to mean. Jesse Reeves, the head of the University of Michigan's Political Science department, was called as an expert witness to argue that Ford was indeed an anarchist. Reeves argued that, "Such well recognized anarchists as Godwin, Proudhon, Bakounin, Benjamin R. Tucker, and Tolstoy all set forth the idea that no one state is of paramount importance. ... All anarchists hold as one of their tenets, one of their principles of belief, the idea of one brotherhood instead of national patriotism... Things that Mr. Ford has said in his printed interviews were the well-known and recognized teachings of the world's greatest and best known anarchists."¹⁶ The interviews in question included Ford remarking, "The man who finds a way of teaching politicians will have made a great discovery comparable in importance to that of the steam engine of the attraction of gravity.... Perhaps the politician... is not utterly beyond moral education."¹⁷ Reeves also claimed Ford's call to abolish patent laws was comparable to the general sentiment held by anarchists that "Patriotism is a false sentiment which leads men on to sacrifice themselves for something that is not really their own interest."¹⁸

In response, Ford's lawyer presented quotations meeting Reeves' definition of anarchist, arguing that if Ford were an anarchist, then so too were Jesus Christ, Saint Paul, Leo Tolstoy, President Wilson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, the Quakers, and Benjamin Franklin, as these figures embraced "brotherhood" and questioned nationalism or government power in different ways. Ford's lawyer also made the point that the

¹⁶ "Defining Anarchy for Henry Ford," *New York Tribune Magazine*, July 6, 1919.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

brotherhood of man was a fundamental aspect of not only anarchism, but Christianity, and asked if that meant Christians are anarchists. Reeves responded, “Not unless that belief is brought in antagonism to the belief of nationalism.”¹⁹

Some anarchists of the time, like Peter Kropotkin, would have agreed with this framing, arguing that anarchism was a timeless human impulse for freedom visible in philosophy and politics even before the modern anarchist movement came into being. While both Ford’s lawyer and Kropotkin calling Jesus Christ or Benjamin Franklin anarchists would be fundamentally ahistorical, this view highlights how anarchism, while a despised enough label to become the center of a million dollar libel suit, included many beliefs which were entirely commonplace.

In post-World War I America, ideas like criticizing patriotism were viewed as dangerous, regardless of whether or not these views came from self-described anarchists. Of course, anarchism was something much more specific than broad sentiments like the questioning of nationalism, the mocking of politicians, or the desire for freedom. Most anarchists during the Progressive Era were anarchist-communists, who believed in equality granted not through a Soviet-style state bureaucracy (as Bolshevik Communists of the time advocated), but through bottom-up democratic decision making. While there were many variations to what each anarchist believed and how they translated their beliefs to practice, generally anarchists sought the abolition of wage labor and money, of nationalism and militarism, and, at least nominally, of racism and sexism. To this end, most anarchists advocated the use of the general strike to create revolutionary change, with their day-to-

¹⁹ Ibid.

day political activities including involvement in unions, the creation and distribution of political periodicals and pamphlets, and participation in counter-cultural projects like radical theatre.

1.3. Background

In histories of American labor, the industrial labor movement is typically bookended by two episodes of heightened anarchist violence coupled with government repression, ending with the Palmer Raids in 1919-20, but beginning decades earlier, with the Haymarket Affair of 1886 in Chicago. Following the Civil War, the city of Chicago was a booming industrial center, and brought many German immigrants to its workforce. In this industrial era of American capitalism, workers earned an average of 15 cents an hour for over sixty hours of work per week. In these conditions, the modern labor movement, consisting of socialists, anarchists, progressives, and unionists with a variety of political leanings, was born. This labor movement was fighting for, at the very least, improved pay, reduced hours, and better working conditions, with the more radical wings of the movement calling for the abolition of the wage system altogether.

In 1884, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, a precursor to the American Federation of Labor, set May 1, 1886 as the goal date for achieving the eight-hour work day. By May, the eight-hour day was not yet in sight. A General Strike starting on May 1 was called throughout the country, and tens of thousands of striking workers marched in Chicago. On May 3, police shot a crowd of strikers in a Chicago picket line at McCormick's Harvesting Machine Company, killing three. A mass meeting was

announced for May 4 at 7:30 p.m., between six hundred and three thousand workers showed up, and police were in full force around the crowd.²⁰ The anarchist orator August Spies spoke to the crowd first, as other planned speakers were late. He attempted to calm worries over a riot and further police violence, saying,

There seems to prevail the opinion in certain quarters that this meeting has been called for the purpose of inaugurating a riot, hence these warlike preparations on the part of so-called 'Law and Order.' However, let me tell you at the beginning that this meeting has not been called for any such purpose. The object of this meeting is to explain the general situation of the Eight-Hour Movement, and to throw light upon various incidents in connection with it.²¹

Of course, the “various incidents” Spies was referring to were quite inflammatory, and by “throwing light upon them” he reached more militant conclusions than merely “explaining the general situation,” as he continued,

What does it mean when the police of this city, on this evening, rattle along in their patrol wagons? What does it mean when the militia stands warlike and ready for bloody work at our armories? ... Your masters have perceived your discontent. They do not like discontented slaves. They want to make you contented at all hazards, and if you are stubborn they will force or kill you. Look at the killing of your brothers at McCormick's yesterday... The police tell you that they were a most dangerous crowd, armed to their teeth. The fact is, they, like ignorant children, indulged in the harmless sport of bombarding McCormick's slaughter house with stones. They paid the penalty of this folly with their blood. The lesson I draw from this occurrence is, that working men must arm themselves for defense, so that they may be able to cope with the government hirelings of their masters.²²

²⁰ Bruce C. Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago's Anarchists, 1870-1900*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988).

²¹ August Spies, Albert Parsons, *The Haymarket Speeches, as Delivered on the Evening of the Throwing of the Bomb, at Haymarket Square, Chicago, May 4, 1886* (Chicago: Chicago Labor Press Association, 1886)

²² Ibid.

Police soon marched towards the crowd, ordering the speakers to stop and the crowd to disperse. A bomb was thrown at the police line, killing one officer and wounding six. Police began firing upon the crowd, and it is widely disputed if any in the crowd fired back, but, in the end, four protesters were killed and 70 were injured. Two more police officers died, though sources including the *Chicago Tribune* speculate that police casualties following the bomb may have been a result of police inaccuracy in the darkness. The coming months brought a red scare against the anarchists of Chicago, and seven anarchists were sentenced to death for being accomplices to the bomb throwing, although these were mostly orators and writers, only two of the accused were even present when the bomb was thrown, and no actual bomb-thrower was arrested. Two of these anarchists had their sentences changed by the governor to life in prison (and were pardoned by the next governor), one committed suicide, and four were hanged on November 11, 1887.

Spies's last words before he was hanged were, "The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are strangling today."²³ Radicals would come to fulfill this prophecy, as the silence of the Haymarket martyrs would become a powerful, lasting rallying cry. But these were not the last voices to be strangled; as radicals gained traction, so too did their opponents. Striking workers, radical propaganda, violence from both radicals and police, and political repression were not just aspects of the Haymarket affair, but features of the decades following it.

Antiradicalism was relatively marginal for much of the late nineteenth century, but

²³ Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984). 393.

labor conflicts increasingly tied growing concerns over unionism and radicalism together. The Homestead Strike particularly highlights the polarization of radicals and unionists on one side, and conservatives, businessmen, and the government on the other. The strike became one of the bloodiest episodes of the period when it turned to violence on July 6, 1892. Henry Clay Frick of the Carnegie Steel Company hired the Pinkerton Detective Agency to break the strike, which had been going on for a week. The Pinkertons' arrival resulted in gunfights, leading to twelve deaths by the end of the conflict the next day. Later that month, anarchist Alexander Berkman attempted to assassinate Frick with a gun and a poisoned dagger.

The next year, the government passed the Anti-Pinkerton Act. The act prohibited the government from hiring the Pinkerton Detective Agency or any similar organization, as Pinkerton agents had often been contracted since the Civil War due to the relative lack of federal agents. In many ways, the Anti-Pinkerton Act would require the government to take on the role antiradical enforcers in place of private agencies. Rather than doing away entirely with antiradical violence then, the Anti-Pinkerton Act inadvertently helped precipitate its expansion, magnification, and transformation from local strikebreaking to national policy.

When the Anti-Pinkerton Act was passed in 1893, antiradicalism was a fairly nascent cultural phenomenon that generally only flared up during labor conflicts. By 1900, however, antiradicalism had become a significant concern of the American public and the US government. Labor conflicts of the Progressive Era, though often framed as the material result of industrial capitalism in which both sides only reflected opposing class interests,

became the foci of cultural disputes much broader than class alone. Antiradicalism became a feature of the hegemonic ideal of Americanism, tying the fight against radicals not only with the defense of capitalism, but to the preservation of the nation and the traditional American family. Radicals came to be seen not only as disloyal, but as the antithesis of American values and culture. Fueled by these cultural polarizations and the fear of anarchist violence, several laws were passed at the national level specifically targeting anarchists for arrest and deportation, and suppressing anarchism was among the top priorities of the Secret Service, the Department of Justice, the Bureau of Investigation, the Bureau of Immigration, and the Postal Inspection Service for several years. One event in particular transformed antiradicalism from a minor aspect of labor struggles to a systematic national project: the assassination of President McKinley by the anarchist Leon Czolgosz.

After McKinley's assassination, as Chapter 2 will discuss in detail, multiple laws were passed specifically restricting the immigration of anarchists and the spreading of anarchist propaganda. The effort to suppress radicalism (and, often, anarchism in particular) gradually escalated over the next several years, with more anti-anarchist legislation becoming law throughout the first and second decades of the twentieth century. The next major turning point would be World War I when, as Chapters 3 and 4 will discuss, radicals were viewed as disloyal to America, and, in connection with burgeoning wartime nationalism, were seen as antithetical to American cultural and moral values.

1.4 Literature Review

This thesis will explore this effort to suppress radicalism in the United States. It will begin by examining the reasons the US government and the popular press opposed radicals and viewed their suppression as not only desirable, but legally justified. Then, it will discuss the intertwined issues of American nationalism and the discourse of loyalty, as radicals (especially foreign ones) were painted as anti-American for their internationalist politics. Finally, it will explore how this critique translated to these allegedly anti-American radicals becoming associated with much broader challenges to values viewed as traditionally American, including traditional gender and family values.

There are a number of ways in which this project builds upon and provides new perspectives to the historiography of the Progressive Era, wherein progressivism featured not just progressive reforms aimed at addressing social issues like poverty, but also reforms focused on curtailing mobility that excluded specific groups of people as well as certain ideas. In writing about the exclusion of anarchist immigrants and the suppression of radical ideologies, this thesis aims to put the history of antiradicalism in conversation with the historiography of American exclusion. The suppression of radicalism, along with Chinese Exclusion and Jim Crow, point to how this period could be framed as the Exclusion Era. Historian Barbara Foley connects the First Red Scare to Jim Crow, writing, “If foreign-born workers were the principle targets of overt political repression, native-born African Americans were the principal target of political violence; the term *Red Summer* pertains not only to government antiradicalism campaigns but also to the blood spilled in the many

lynchings and race riots of 1919.”²⁴ President Wilson remarked in 1919 that he feared “[t]he American negro returning from abroad would be our greatest medium in conveying bolshevism to America.”²⁵ By 1919, the US government expressed many fears about black radicalism, with Attorney General Palmer feeling that, “The Negro is ‘seeing red.’”²⁶ Though it seems that the connection between African Americans and labor radicalism became much more pointed around 1919, looking at the earlier history of political repression helps explain how the government developed some of the legal, logistical, and ideological apparatuses utilized in the repression of African American workers into the 1920s.

In speaking to this growing body of literature on exclusion and repression in the Progressive Era, Chapter 2 of this thesis explores the legal justifications for excluding radicals for their political views; Chapters 3 and 4 speak to the delineating of what sorts of cultural values and identities made individuals American or not; and Chapter 4 examines how certain values were explicitly included or excluded as American. Together, these chapters highlight how Americanness and whiteness was defined not only by race and national origin, as discussed in the literature, but also by culture, values, and politics.

A recurring theme throughout this process of ideological exclusion is the tying of political radicalism to other ideas that many in the US government sought to suppress, particularly surrounding gender, sexuality, and the family. The policing of morality and

²⁴ Foley, *Spectres of 1919*, 12.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

ideology became intertwined in an effort to defend and project a certain model of American values. “Obscene” materials including contraceptives, abortifacients, and pornography were banned not only because they were viewed as immoral, but because this immorality was understood as being dangerous to the state. For example, as historian Helen Horowitz writes, erotica during the period, “was opposed by the authorities, who saw it as a threat to the state, linked inextricably to philosophic radicalism, heresy, and political subversion.”²⁷

In Kim E. Nielsen’s book *Un-American Womanhood: Antiradicalism, Antifeminism, and the First Red Scare*, she argues that, “antiradicalism... [was] integral to the rhetorical, organizational, and ideological strength of the antifeminism of the 1920s.”²⁸ Antifeminists, she continues, “...linked antiradicalism... to antifeminism further by arguing that the socialist abolition of private property subverted the proprietary and patriarchal relationship of men to wives and children.”²⁹

Under the banner of Americanism, conservatives, nativists, business elites, society women, settlement workers, and ‘super’ patriots – some generally alarmed by the spectre of radicalism, modernism, or feminism, and some acting out of self-interest – reinforced the patriarchal family as a symbol of patriotism and capitalism, a producer of conservative gender norms, a promoter of assimilation, and a tool for social control.³⁰

Americanism was a nationalistic “loose conservative consensus” that included “widespread beliefs about American superiority, racial superiority, patriarchy, free enterprise, evangelical Protestantism, [and] moral purity.”³¹ Erica J. Ryan similarly writes

²⁷ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-century America* (New York: Knopf, 2002), 32.

²⁸ Kim E. Nielsen, *Un-American Womanhood: Antiradicalism, Antifeminism, and the First Red Scare* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001), 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 166.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

on the interconnections between antifeminism and antiradicalism in her book *Red War On the Family*, although she focuses her analysis on Bolshevism in the 1920s. The history of antiradicalism up to 1920 should complement Ryan's work by showing how the suppression of anarchism was connected to earlier efforts to suppress feminist movements.

Building upon this literature and drawing more connections between the policing of morality and the policing of radicalism, this thesis will explore the many ways in which the suppression of radicalism and the suppression of feminism and free love were interconnected. To speak to this subject, Chapter 4 of this thesis will illustrate how radicals were explicitly targeted for their counter-cultural gender and family politics, especially as World War I deepened the antagonism between anti-militarist, anti-capitalist, free love-advocating radicals and social conservatives who sought to uphold American values.

Looking at the longer conflict between radicals and the US government also reveals much about wider Progressive Era discourses on terrorism, counter-terrorism, and violence. The history of radical repression and anarchist violence are intertwined, as anarchists often reacted to repression with violence and the US government in turn justified increased repression. Even with a clear starting point like the Haymarket affair, it remains completely unclear who even started this cycle of violence. Chapter 2 will discuss some of the counter-terrorist logic used by the US government in justifying the suppression of freedom of speech and movement, as antiradicalism was often framed as a means of physical self-defense for the state.

The war is also deeply connected with this cycle of violence and this narrative of antiradicalism more broadly. In *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of*

the Modern American Citizen, historian Christopher Capozzola writes about how the war transformed many aspects of the American state and civil society, including some points that are illuminating for understanding the First Red Scare. More specifically, anarchists and government agents alike articulated the justification for their actions through the framework of wartime vigilantism, and both were criticized for their lawlessness in the wake of their actions.

In Capozzola's narrative, civil liberties activists had built support for their cause and their view on the rule of law throughout World War I, and this proved to be important for tempering the repressive arm of the federal government. To those who had lived through the wartime years, the excessive tactics of the Palmer Raids actually came to embody the vigilante justice and lawlessness that much of the public opposed, rather than the fight against it. Capozzola writes that Attorney General Palmer defended the raids by "drawing on the rhetoric of vigilance that slacker raiders and home guards had found so persuasive... [However,] such language only further galvanized the civil liberties community in its fight against lawlessness and mob violence. Now they turned their guns on the state, challenging an attorney general who had displayed such an old-fashioned understanding of the law."³²

Ironically, some of the same cultural reactions against lawlessness and mob violence that brought the Palmer Raids to a close also helped bring the waves of anarchist bombings to a close. Capozzola writes that "after the war – in fact because of the war –

³² Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 203.

law was more than ever a tool that ordinary Americans could use to challenge the political violence that had so characterized the home front.”³³ Eventually, he argues, “Movements against mob violence did much to erase the vigilantism and lawless violence that characterized nineteenth-century American political life.”³⁴ In this argument, Capozzola was focusing on the right-wing violence of American Legionnaires and the Ku Klux Klan, but his analysis applies to the left-wing violence of anarchists equally as well.

The political violence of anarchists during the Progressive Era is better understood if considered in the context of the period, when mob violence was widespread and a serious issue. As Chapter 3 will discuss, the anarchists behind the bombings of the 1910s pulled from a similar discourse of vigilance that Palmer used to justify government raids in order to justify their own attacks, claiming to be acting in defense of the working class. While the left was not using its violence to defend the state and Americanism, but to attack the state to defend the working class, anarchist violence ultimately declined, in part due to the some of the same reactions against mob violence and lawlessness, which, as Copozzola shows, helped erase the violence of their right-wing political opponents. In this way, the First Red Scare of 1919-20 is explained not only through a sudden, anomalous episode of violence and repression, but through broader Progressive Era discourses surrounding violence and legitimate political activity.

While this thesis explores issues like exclusion, gender, and violence in the Progressive Era, it remains at its core a story of antiradicalism. Each chapter speaks to

³³ Ibid., 16.

³⁴ Ibid., 16.

different subjects like exclusion and terrorism in some distinguishable ways as discussed above, but the central thesis of each chapter is not about any one of these subjects. The three chapters making up the body of this thesis could be framed as discussing how radicalism was suppressed for its opposition to the US government, its opposition to the nation and patriotism, then its opposition to American values, respectively. The main purpose of Chapter 2 is to discuss the motivations and justifications for antiradicalism by examining the press, antiradical legislation and court cases, and criminology. Chapter 3, then, examines issues surrounding nationalism and loyalty, as the internationalist politics of radicals became a particularly potent point of polarization due to Progressive Era nationalism. Finally, Chapter 4 examines the challenge to traditional American values posed by radicals, and how this was addressed. Together, these chapters demonstrate how and why the US government suppressed radical speech, excluded and deported immigrant radicals, and set limits on the kinds of ideas and people allowed in the nation in the years leading up to the Palmer Raids.

CHAPTER 2: “EVERY OTHER QUESTION SINKS INTO INSIGNIFICANCE”: SUPPRESSING THE ANARCHIST IDEA

2.1. The Assassination of President McKinley

On September 6, 1901, anarchist political violence reached unprecedented heights in the United States, when President William McKinley was assassinated by Polish-American anarchist Leon Czolgosz. McKinley was touring in Buffalo, New York to deliver an address to the Pan-American Exposition. McKinley arrived in New York by train, and when cannons went off in celebration outside, the sound broke some of his train’s windows. Shouts of “Anarchists!” were heard as many people nearby mistook the cannon fire for the explosion of a bomb, highlighting an already existing fear of anarchist violence in the public imagination.¹ Safely arriving at the public reception in Buffalo’s Temple of Music, McKinley planned to shake hands with each attendee as they entered. The chief of police assigned extra men to watch the crowd, but they actually blocked the view of the Secret Service agents in charge of protecting the president.² Additionally, since it was a very hot day and many were using handkerchiefs to wipe sweat from their faces, a rule mandating that people in line to meet the president had to have open, empty hands was going unenforced. Czolgosz walked up to President McKinley with a handkerchief wrapped around his right hand. McKinley reached to shake Czolgosz’s left hand, and Czolgosz shot him twice with a revolver he had hidden under his handkerchief. Czolgosz was quickly tackled by several men, beaten for a short while, and was heard uttering “I done my duty,”

¹ Scott Miller, *The President and the Assassin*, (New York: Random House, 2011), 5.

² Ibid.

before he was dragged away by authorities.³ Though only one bullet entered McKinley (the other grazed him), McKinley died of infected wounds on September 14. Czolgosz was put on trial, found guilty, and put in the electric chair in the course of just two months, dying on October 29.

2.2. Background

In the years following McKinley's assassination, there was a noticeable lack of anarchist violence. Violence seemed to have reached its nadir, but antiradicalism was still building to its zenith. On April 9, 1908, the events of 1901 were still making waves, as President Theodore Roosevelt sent a message to the US Senate and House of Representatives which proclaimed, "When compared to the suppression of anarchy, every other question sinks into insignificance."⁴ The message urged lawmakers to restrict anarchists' use of the mail, building upon the recently passed 1907 Immigration Act, which expanded upon the 1903 Immigration Act and set stricter restrictions on the immigration of anarchists into the country. Roosevelt continued, "The anarchist is the enemy of humanity, the enemy of all mankind, and his is a deeper degree of criminality than any other. No immigrant is allowed to come on our shores if he is an anarchist; and no paper published here or abroad should be permitted circulation in this country if it propagates anarchistic opinions."⁵

Although the anti-anarchist fervor of the 1919-20 Red Scare is commonly understood as a reaction to recent anarchist terrorism, many historians have noted how,

³ Richard L. McElroy, *William McKinley and our America: A Pictorial History*. (Canton, Ohio: Stark County Historical Society, 1996).

⁴ 60th Congress, 1st session, *Congressional Record* vol. XLII, Part 5: Senate, April 9, 1908

⁵ Ibid.

when the US government mobilized against anarchism in 1908, any anarchist threat seemed entirely imagined. For example, William Preston wrote in *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933*, that, in contrast to Roosevelt's proclamations, "it seemed in 1908 in America that anarchy itself had become insignificant."⁶ This period, when the government began a systematic project to control anarchist immigration and the spread of anarchist writings, was not just a time of counter-terrorism, but a time when anarchism as an idea was viewed as a serious problem.

What, then, made anarchism such a significant problem to Roosevelt and others? Why did the government wage such a large campaign against anarchists, if there was little violence? And how did a government that claimed to protect freedom of speech and association justify a campaign against a political ideology? This chapter will explore the government's legal and political justifications for the suppression of anarchism. It will begin by exploring the motivations for antiradicalism, and anti-anarchism in particular, as criminologists, government officials, and journalists presented anarchism as such a dangerous idea that anyone who believed in it was intrinsically and irrevocably threatening. Then, the legal justifications for policies and actions specifically targeting radicals will be examined to understand how a group could have legally been targeted for their political views. The Progressive Era state sought to narrow the spectrum of legitimate politics as it constructed policy and practices for policing dissent, controlling the movement of certain ideas, and surveilling the communications of radicals.

⁶ William Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 33.

2.3. The Public Reaction to McKinley's Assassination

Though there was no evidence of any broader anarchist conspiracy to assassinate McKinley, Czolgosz's self-proclaimed anarchism still pushed the government, police, and public to place their anger upon the anarchist movement at large. Most immediately, vigilantes threatened, attacked, and vandalized anarchist spaces including print shops and social centers. In Spring Valley, Illinois, for example, twenty anarchists armed with "double-barrel shotguns and 1,000 rounds of ammunition" stood in defense outside the offices of the Italian-American anarchist periodical *L'Aurore*. Two thousand citizens of Illinois reportedly volunteered to join up in a militia to potentially "assist in exterminating the Reds," the Reds being a reported five hundred anarchists and anarchist sympathizers in the state.⁷

While there were plenty of threats of mob violence against anarchists in the weeks following McKinley's assassination, some members of the public also took to more organized measures. For example, the American Patriotic Educational League was founded in Milwaukee as "a national organization having for its purpose the wiping [anarchists] out of the country."⁸ The organization claimed that "the enactment of laws to prevent the spread of anarchist ideas are practically ineffectual but that these doctrines can be extirpated by... making these doctrines so unpopular and contemptuous that no one would have the hardihood to promulgate them."⁹ Seeking to make antiradicalism a part of one's identity, they urged "every person opposed to anarchy" to wear a button they were

⁷ *Brandon Daily Times* (Brandon, Vermont), September 21, 1901.

⁸ "Declares Himself an Anarchist," *The Billings gazette*. (Billings, Montana), September 24, 1901

⁹ *Ibid.*

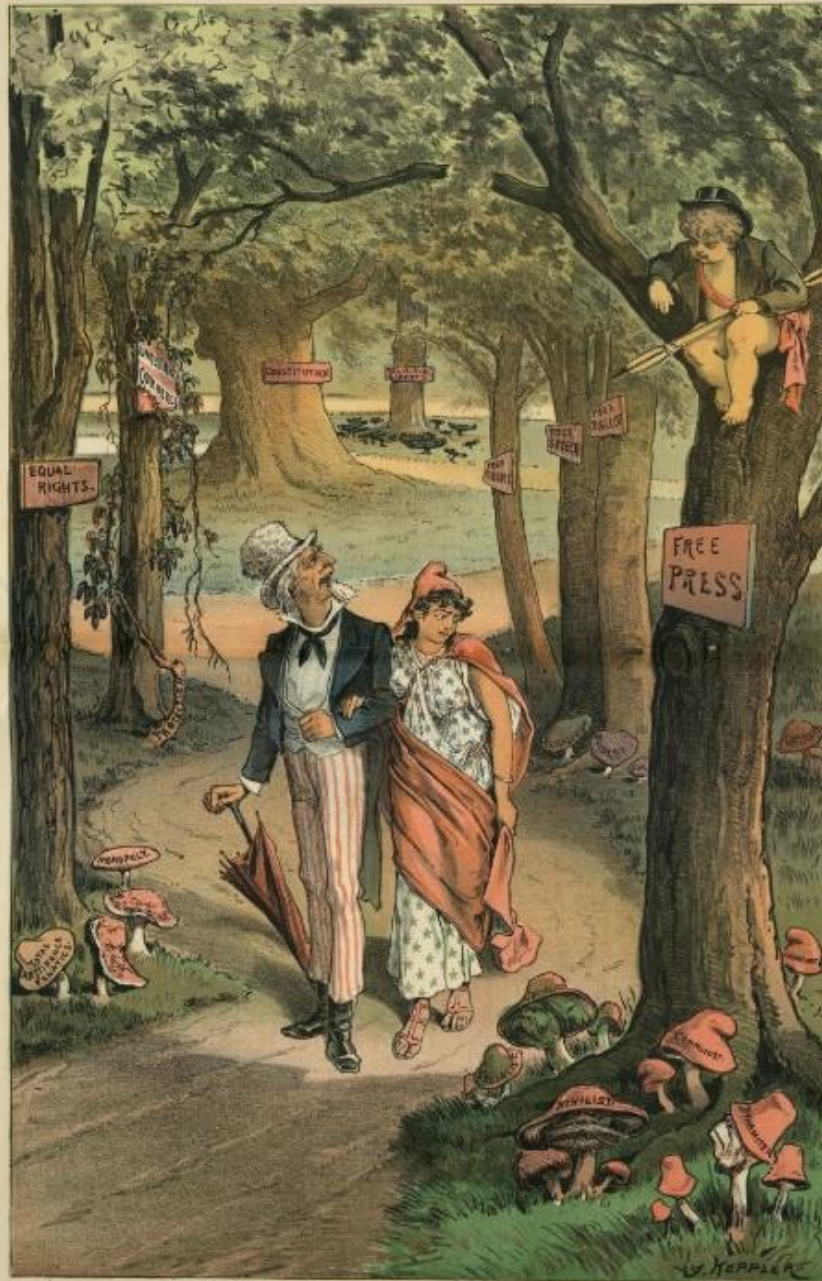
making.¹⁰

The press even argued for the restriction of the free press to combat radicalism. Figure 1 shows an illustration from Puck Magazine, captioned “Noxious Growths in Liberty’s Grounds,” featuring Uncle Sam and Lady Liberty walking through the woods, with mushrooms growing beneath trees labeled with different liberties to their dismay.¹¹ Among these noxious growths are anarchism, communism, socialism, nihilism, and “dynamitism” beneath the “Free Press” tree- as if these unwanted fungi were rooted in free speech itself. Several of these mushrooms also have faces in addition to their labels, coded as foreigners with scruffy facial hair and exaggerated facial features.

This did not necessarily mean that an exception to free press should be made only for the suppression of radical texts, as other selections from the same magazine highlight a strong connection between anarchism and the “yellow press”. For example, in Figure 2, another illustration from Puck captioned, “The Yellow Press: Those Who Feed it and Those

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Joseph Keppler, “Noxious growths in liberty’s grounds” *Puck Magazine*, February 25, 1885.



NOXIOUS GROWTHS IN LIBERTY'S GROUNDS.

Uncle Sam.—Hello, PUCK, are you "up a tree"? — PUCK.—No, but you will be if you don't clear this stuff out pretty soon!

Figure 1: Joseph Keppler, "Noxious growths in liberty's grounds" Puck Magazine, February 25, 1885. Caption reads "Noxious growths in liberty's grounds: Uncle Sam-- Hello, Puck, are you "up a tree"? - Puck-- No, but you will be if you don't clear this stuff out pretty soon!"

Whom it Feeds," includes depictions of newspapers reading "Attacks on Honest Officials,"

"Sensationalism," and "Strife." Behind these papers, an anarchist shoots a man speaking

from an American-flag-covered podium.¹² The free press was a problem not only because it allowed radicals to spread their ideas through their own periodicals, but also because even the mainstream press fueled dissent by portraying strife and attacking “honest officials.”

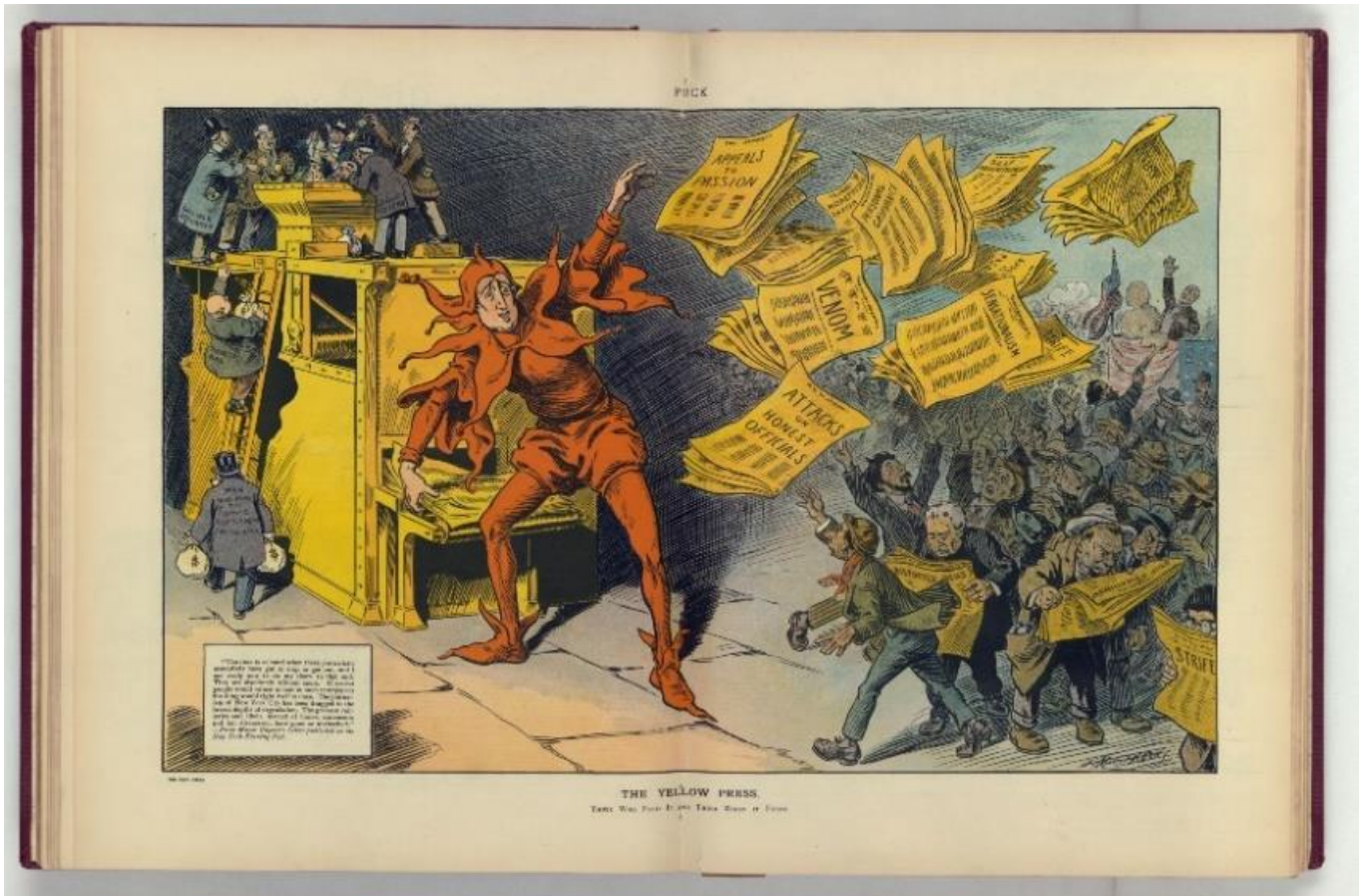


Figure 2: L.M. Glackens, “The yellow press” Puck Magazine, October 12, 1910.

For several years following McKinley’s assassination, anarchist presses and writers could often be targeted with legal persecution for praising Czolgosz’s actions or saying anything on the subject besides complete condemnation. For example, anarchist writer and newspaper editor Ludivico Caminita published an article in *La Questione Sociale* in 1906

¹² L.M. Glackens, “The yellow press” Puck Magazine, October 12, 1910.

that said, “When Czolgoz killed McKinley, it was not enough to shout against anarchy, it was shouted that he was of Polish nationality.”¹³ Although Caminita was simply pointing out the xenophobia of the time rather than truly celebrating Czolgosz, *La Question Sociale* had its postal privileges removed in response.¹⁴

In addition to political and legal consequences, the killing of McKinley also had repercussions in American popular culture. As Richard Porton notes in *Film and the Anarchist Imagination*, “Most directors at the turn of the century appear to subscribe... [to the] view that anarchists - ‘men whose object is the annihilation of all existing social institutions’ - were literally suffering from brain damage.”¹⁵ One 1901 film, the *Execution of Czolgosz, With Panorama of Auburn Prison*, even featured a celebratory dramatic reenactment of Czolgosz’s death by electrocution. The film, as Porton describes, commemorates “with gruesome cinematic flair, the killing of a man who inspired mass hysteria - all ‘radicals were instantly considered guilty of an enormous and vicious crime.’”¹⁶ The anti-anarchist fervor of the dawn of the century illustrated through films like this was temporary, but was significant enough to galvanize support (or at least acceptance of) dramatic government action against anarchism.

¹³ Salvatore Salvatore Salerno, “Paterson’s Italian anarchist silk workers and the politics of race”, accessed March 15, 2016, <http://libcom.org/history/patersons-italian-anarchist-silk-workers-politics-race-salvatore-salerno>

, “Paterson’s Italian anarchist silk workers and the politics of race”, accessed March 15, 2016, <http://libcom.org/history/patersons-italian-anarchist-silk-workers-politics-race-salvatore-salerno>

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Richard Porton, *Film and the Anarchist Imagination* (New York: Verso, 1999), 16.

¹⁶ Ibid, 17.

2.4. “The International War on Anarchism”: The Global Spread of Antiradicalism

At the turn of the century, anarchism was a notably transnational movement, spreading from Europe to the Americas and even to Asia and Oceania. In order to suppress this transnational movement, governments had to police on an international scale. However, when European governments’ concerns over anarchism (particularly anarchist terrorism) peaked at the end of the nineteenth century, there was very little established legal, diplomatic, and organizational infrastructure for such international policing. This led to early efforts to build international police organizations, beginning with the International Anti-Anarchist Conference on November 24, 1898.

This International Anti-Anarchist Conference, hosted by the Italian government in Rome, included twenty-one countries, accounting for all of Europe. European countries weren't only concerned about the expanse of anarchist terrorism in recent years (assassinated targets in the decade leading up to McKinley’s assassination included the president of France, the prime minister of France, the king of Italy, and the empress of Austria), but also about the failures of individual governments to address the issue. The classic tactic of public punishment and executions may have proven effective in preventing more individuated crimes and legitimizing the authority of the sovereign, but for anarchists who celebrated martyrs and sought revenge for injustices, this only provoked further anti-government sentiment and eventual violence. Italy hosted the conference because its government was especially concerned about anarchist terrorism; not only were many Italian officials the target of anarchist political violence, but many Italians had assassinated

people in other countries, leading to anti-Italian riots across bordering countries.¹⁷ Even countries that had not been so profoundly affected by anarchist violence were concerned about individual government responses; the United Kingdom, for example, although it had not been the target of much anarchist terrorism, was concerned about other European countries' practices of deporting anarchists, as such deportees often ended up on the country's shores.¹⁸

Though Interpol was not be founded until 1923, this conference led to increased international policing and formally adopted an international standard for the use of "Bertillonage," a type of anthropometry through which anarchists and criminals more broadly were identified and typified by their body measurements.¹⁹ A second conference was held 1904, at which ten countries adopted the "Secret Protocol for the International War on Anarchism."²⁰ This protocol put extradition and coordinated intelligence plans proposed in the 1898 conference into internationally coordinated practice. Anarchists were targeted, surveilled, and arrested across European borders through a police apparatus that operated through a nodal network nearly as diffuse as that of the transnational anarchists themselves.

There was an analogous process in the United States as anarchist terrorism provoked a legal and organizational shift from state-level to federal policing. Prior to the foundation of the Bureau of Investigation in 1908, policing across state borders was fairly

¹⁷ Ibid, 325.

¹⁸ Richard Bach Jensen, "The International Anti-Anarchist Conference of 1898 and the Origins of Interpol", *Journal of Contemporary History* 16 (1981): 326.

¹⁹ Simon Cole, *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 52.

²⁰ Ibid.

difficult and disorganized. The insurrectionary anarchist Luigi Galleani, for example, not only escaped an Italian prison to come to the United States in 1899, but was able to escape arrest for inciting a riot in New Jersey in 1902, flee into Canada, and relocate to Vermont. In Vermont, although he lived a rather public life using his real name, Galleani evaded arrest for his New Jersey charges for several years (despite even being arrested in Vermont for unrelated charges), until 1907 when rival socialists allegedly leaked his whereabouts to New Jersey authorities. Galleani was acquitted, and in 1912 he moved again to Lynn, Massachusetts, along with the anarchist periodical he edited, the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. Readers and contributors of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* propagated a wing of the Italian-American anarchist movement that advocated the use of political violence, posing a problem to US authorities that they could not, apparently, address through state- and local-level policing alone.

Galleani's original arrival in the United States and the difficulties involved in tracing him across state lines are emblematic of the difficulties the US government had in preventing anarchist terrorism in the country. As in Europe, repression on a case-by-case basis only incited further anarchist actions. The foundation of the Bureau of Investigation, the 1918 Anarchist Exclusion Act, the Palmer Raids, and the ensuing deportations were all attempts to systematically respond to a networked movement that operated across the Atlantic, national borders, and state lines.

The diffusion of borders in the policing of anarchism was not exclusive to intra-European coordination or United States federal and immigration policing. For example, in 1902, seventeen Latin American countries along with the United States signed the Treaty

for the Extradition of Criminals and for Protection Against Anarchism.²¹ Though political criminals were normally exempt from extradition treaties, this treaty allowed anarchist assassins in particular to be extradited.²² While Canada was not a part of this conference, the Canadian government copied the US anarchist exclusion statutes nearly verbatim –in some cases, this would end up creating a problem in deporting anarchists to one country from the other.

2.5. The Legal Rationalization of Antiradicalism

The early twentieth century saw systematic efforts by the US government to suppress radical speech and organizing and exclude anarchists from the country. Following the assassination of McKinley, some lawmakers swiftly moved to bar the entry of immigrant anarchists into the United States on the grounds that they posed a physical threat to government. Initial efforts were far-reaching and called for the expansion of the Bureau of Immigration to place agents overseas. On September 7, 1901, less than a week after McKinley's death, US Commissioner General of Immigration Terence V. Powderly urged Congress to pass a law or amend existing immigration laws to “exclude from landing in this country persons known to be Anarchists abroad by requiring every immigrant to present a certificate from the municipality in which he resided at home, to the effect that he was a respectable, law-abiding man; that he was not in any way identified with any Anarchist organization, and that he was of good character.”²³ To this end, Powderly called

²¹ Bruce Zagaris, “Developments in the Institutional Architecture and Framework of International Criminal and Enforcement Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere”, *The University of Miami Inter-American Law Review* 37 (2006): 426

²² Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878–1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 274.

²³ “WOULD BAR ANARCHISTS.; Commissioner Powderly Favors Anarchist Exclusion Laws -- Foreign Bureau Suggested.” *New York Times*, September 8, 1901

for an international expansion of the Bureau of Immigration. As he continued, “In order to make such a law effective, representatives of the Immigration Bureau should be stationed in foreign countries from which immigrants come, whose duty it should be to examine carefully into the character of the immigration tending toward the United States.”²⁴

Issues like the logistics of instituting such a widespread investigative system, the legality of exercising such power in another country’s territory, or the methodology of judging whether or not someone was “respectable” and “of good character” seem to have not been questioned. Rather than practical concerns dominating the discussion, the *New York Times* reported that the proposal had been “vigorously opposed” in Congress in past years on the grounds that, in the words of the reporter, “it would be a dangerous precedent to prosecute or punish a man for supporting a theory or having a certain opinion without having proof that he had committed an actual crime.”²⁵

But the *New York Times* was merely reporting on earlier anti-anarchist legislative efforts, before McKinley’s assassination. Ultimately, the underlying logic of not excluding or punishing people for “supporting a theory or having a certain opinion” did not prevent anti-anarchist legislation from becoming a reality in the post-McKinley political climate.

This is because there was extraordinary anger at anarchists in general following McKinley’s assassination, especially within the government. Years before his 1908 address in which he called anarchism the most significant question facing the nation, and

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

just weeks after McKinley's assassination, Theodore Roosevelt delivered his very first Annual Message to Congress. The address began with a fiery condemnation of anarchism itself (not just assassination) as a heinous crime, as Roosevelt said,

Anarchy is no more an expression of social discontent than picking pockets or wife-beating. The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order... The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism. For the anarchist himself, whether he preaches or practices his doctrines, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer... The cause of his criminality is to be found in his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the State to do justice to him... Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race; and all mankind should band against the anarchist. His crime should be made an offense against the law of nations, like piracy and that form of man-stealing known as the slave trade; for it is of far blacker infamy than either.²⁶

To Roosevelt, even the advocacy "in any shape or fashion" of anarchism or the apologizing for "anarchists and their deeds" was not only comparable to murder, but to wife-beating, slavery, and despotism. The extreme reaction to anarchism at display here is perhaps unmatched by another modern US president in regards to any other ideology, group, or nation, even ones associated with violence. The actions Roosevelt called on

²⁶ Theodore Roosevelt, "First Annual Message," December 3, 1901. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. Accessed March 17, 2016. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29542>.

Congress to take in suppressing anarchism should, then, come as little surprise, as he continued,

No man or body of men preaching anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchistic speeches, writings, and meetings are essentially seditious and treasonable. I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority... No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the Congress.... This great country will not fall into anarchy, and if anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions, they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame.²⁷

Roosevelt's proclamation that "if anarchists should ever become a serious menace to [the country's] institutions they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines," seems almost like a prophecy of the Palmer Raids, and this is no coincidence. His address was moving and effective, as it spurred Congress to lay the legislative groundwork for the federal suppression of anarchism, beginning with, as Roosevelt suggested, the restriction of anarchists coming into the country.

In March 1903, just over a year after Roosevelt's address, Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1903, popularly known as the Anarchist Exclusion Act, and Roosevelt signed it into law. Under the new law, non-citizen anarchists could be deported within three years of arriving in the United States. If deported, the company responsible for providing

²⁷ Ibid.

the (presumably European) anarchist with transportation into the United States would have to pay for the expense of return passage.

However, the Anarchist Exclusion Act did not go as far as Commissioner General Powderly had hoped in his 1901 comments in the *New York Times*; there were no internationally placed immigration agents and no deep investigations into all immigrants' standings in their home communities. In practice, the law relied for the most part on whether or not each immigrant professed to be an anarchist when asked by an immigration inspector upon arrival or willingly admitted such beliefs upon any investigation of suspected anarchism.

Powderly's ideas were not put into law, but his anti-anarchist passion was certainly put into practice. From 1907 to 1921, the period in which the Bureau of Immigration devoted the most effort into investigating and deporting anarchists, Powderly was the Bureau's chief information officer. As a fairly important, but often unseen, figure of antiradicalism, it is worth noting that Powderly, before working for the Bureau of Immigration, led the Knights of Labor as Grand Master Workman from 1879 to 1893. Two of the anarchists hanged for the Haymarket affair belonged to the Knights of Labor, leading to sharp divisions and controversies within the union, which saw a sharp decline in the following years. Unlike the Haymarket anarchists, Powderly represented an antiradical faction within the union, opposing strikes and socialism. Powderly highlights how high-ranking government officials often had fairly personal motivations for their antiradicalism; not only was the personal political, but the personal informed policy.

While the Anarchist Exclusion Act may have not been as far-reaching as Powderly hoped, it did manage to cast a very wide net of antiradicalism. Even those who only claimed to be anarchists on a purely philosophical level, rather than being open advocates of violence or revolution, could be (and were) barred from entry or deported if they already resided in the country. Though this can easily be seen as a violation of freedom of speech, thought, and assembly, proponents argued that it was perfectly justified, even within the law.

For example, one 1906 deportation of a philosophical anarchist through the Anarchist Exclusion Act was upheld in a 1919 federal case, *US v. Stuppiello*, in New York's District Court. Stuppiello's attorneys argued that he should be protected under the First Amendment because he only believed in anarchism as a utopian ideal and did not belong to any anarchist organization or seek to overthrow the government. The District Court ruled that even the belief in anarchist theories was illegal on the grounds that, as the *Michigan Law Review* summarized in 1920,

The advocacy by philosophical anarchists of the overthrow of the government not by forcible means, but by the propagation of their theories comes within the spirit if not the letter of the act. And it is not an unconstitutional infringement of free speech...for two constitutional reasons: first, the Congress has full power over naturalization and may impose such conditions as it sees fit; second, all Government has an inherent right to protect itself, and prohibit any words which strike at its foundation.²⁸

²⁸ "Recent Decisions: Aliens: Naturalization: Anarchists," *Michigan Law Review*, Vol. 18, no. 5 (March, 1920), 422-423.

The second part of this argument in particular highlights how anarchists, more than any other political group, were open to persecution and repression specifically for their views on government. This is because the philosophical belief in the absence of government was viewed as equitable, if not even more dangerous than, the use of revolutionary violence, as expressed in an earlier ruling (*Lopez v. Howe*) quoted within the *US v. Stuppiello* decision, “The theory of anarchy and that of government must at all times be in conflict, and I cannot believe that the philosophical anarchist... is any less dangerous than is the advocate of violence. Indeed, in a sense the insidious character of the teachings of the one is more to be feared than are the teaching or activities of the other.”²⁹ Ultimately, the court ruled in *US v. Stuppiello* that philosophical anarchists could have their naturalization certificate cancelled because, as the decision proclaims, “The philosophical anarchist who exploits and expounds his views is none the less dangerous to the welfare of the country than the anarchist who believes in overthrowing or destroying the government by force or violence.”³⁰

It is worth noting that, because of this focus on anti-government views, the federal government’s investigations into radicals frequently (though not always) ignored Socialist Party activities because the party did not seek to abolish the government. Instead, agents searched primarily for anarchists to track and potentially arrest. For example, one 1919 Bureau of Investigation report on radicals in Vermont went as far to claim that the socialists there weren’t radicals at all, saying, “...the members of the Socialist Labor Party are in no way connected to the so-called radicals. In fact, during the granite strike... the members of

²⁹ *U.S. v. Stuppiello*, 260 F. 483 (1919)

³⁰ *Ibid.*

the Socialist Labor Party were opposed to the radical element... [The] members of the Socialist Labor Party... are not interested in the overthrow of the U.S. government by force; that their whole interest is that of a political nature.”³¹ Investigations in 1919 and 1920 would mark a difference between socialists and Bolsheviks as well; to the government’s logic, Bolsheviks were unique from other socialists because, like anarchists, they sought to overthrow the government by force as in Russia. The 1906 case, then, highlights a logic of self-defense which would inform radicalism not only during the First Red Scare, but even into the 1920s and 30s as the government dealt with Bolshevism.

The *California Law Review* author pointed out another nuance to the Supreme Court’s 1906 decision: the US government simply had the right to exclude immigrants, especially when it came to defending itself. Despite his earlier defense of the right to believe in theories, the author of the *California Law Review* article concluded with, “The decision has no force, binding or persuasive, in California, where the provisions of the Syndicalism Act are directed only at the advocacy of violence or terrorism.”³² So, while this lawyer seemed sympathetic to radicals’ right to free speech, he still ended up embracing the logic that anarchism (and syndicalism) could legally be suppressed because they involved the advocacy of violence.

The Syndicalism Act mentioned in the *California Law Review* was the California Criminal Syndicalism Act, passed in 1919, which essentially made it a crime to be a member in any union in which any other member believed in sabotage. The California

³¹ “Federal Surveillance of Radicals in Vermont, 1919-1920,” Vermont Historical Society Collections, Leahy Library, Barre, Vermont

³² Ibid.

Criminal Syndicalism Act was just one of twenty state laws across the country making syndicalism a crime, beginning with Idaho's 1917 Criminal Syndicalism Act. These followed, and were sometimes coupled with, criminal anarchy laws. The first criminal anarchy law was passed in 1902 in New York State. It made advocating anarchist ideas a felony that carried a twenty-year jail sentence, and even stipulated that those found guilty could have their citizenship revoked for the crime. Washington State's 1909 Criminal Anarchy Act expanded the definition of criminal anarchy to include "any disrespect for law or any court."³³ In 1955, the US Solicitor General claimed that 42 states and Alaska and Hawaii had criminal anarchy laws; over a dozen states still have the law on the books, and so does the federal government.

Criminal anarchy laws were upheld in the 1925 US Supreme Court Case *Gitlow v. New York*. The case involved New York State Representative Benjamin Gitlow, who was charged under New York's Criminal Anarchy law due to his involvement in the publication of a socialist manifesto. As a socialist (and, later, Communist) rather than an anarchist, Gitlow argued that his manifesto did not argue for the violent overthrow of the state, but offered a more academic analysis of capitalism that should have been constitutionally protected free speech. (Ironically, Gitlow turned towards conservatism later in his life, becoming a somewhat prominent figure of McCarthyism after publishing an exposé about his tenure in the Communist Party in the 1920s and 30s.)

³³ Woodrow Whitten, "Criminal Syndicalism and the Law in California: 1919-1927," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 59, no. 2 (1969)

The Supreme Court ruled in *Gitlow's* case that, "A State may punish utterances endangering the foundations of organized government and threatening its overthrow by unlawful means... such utterances are so inimical to the general welfare and involve such danger of substantive evil that they may be penalized under the police power..." and, the ruling continued, "Such utterances present sufficient danger to the public peace and security of the State to bring their punishment clearly within the range of legislative discretion, even if the effect of a given utterance cannot accurately be foreseen."³⁴ Moreover, the state had no obligation to prove that these ideas posed any immediate threat of violence, as the court stated, "A State cannot reasonably be required to defer taking measures against these revolutionary utterances until they lead to actual disturbances of the peace or imminent danger of the State's destruction."³⁵ Therefore, the fact that *Gitlow* had not actually called for the violent overthrow of the government was immaterial, as any writings or speeches considered to be anarchistic by definition posed a potential danger to the public, and it did not have to be proven that the speeches contained any specific calls to violence or may even conceivably lead to violence.

The ruling also more explicitly addressed the issue of freedom of speech, saying, "Freedom of speech and of the press, as secured by the Constitution, is not an absolute right to speak or publish without responsibility whatever one may choose or an immunity for every possible use of language..."³⁶ Broadly speaking, this proclamation would seem to contradict the very idea of a right to freedom of speech (which may be understood to

³⁴ "*Gitlow v. New York* 268 U.S. 652 (1925)." Justia Law. Accessed March 17, 2016. <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/268/652/case.html>.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

literally make one immune to consequences for their language). However, there was some more specificity to what exactly makes the right not absolute, as the ruling explained, “A State, in the exercise of its police power, may punish those who abuse this freedom by utterances inimical to the public welfare, tending to corrupt public morals, incite to crime or disturb the public peace, is not open to question.”³⁷ Any publication advocating any generally anarchistic political program or action at all was considered such an abuse of freedom, as the decision stated that states were allowed to punish

those who advocate, advise or teach the duty, necessity or propriety of overthrowing or overturning organized government by force, violence, or any unlawful means, or who print, publish, or knowingly circulate any book, paper, etc., advocating, advising or teaching the doctrine that organized government should be so overthrown... [this] is constitutional as applied to a printed "Manifesto" advocating and urging mass action which shall progressively foment industrial disturbances and, through political mass strikes and revolutionary mass action, overthrow and destroy organized parliamentary government; even though the advocacy was in general terms, and not addressed to particular immediate acts or to particular person.³⁸

What is perhaps most interesting in this case is that the propagation of anarchist ideas was not constitutionally protected free speech not only because the federal government had the right to defend itself from violence and to control immigration, as ruled in *US v. Stuppiello*, but because the government, including state police, had the right to punish those who corrupted “public morals.” As the assassination of McKinley became a more distant event, and anarchists gained a larger reputation not just as bearded bomb-throwing terrorists but as immigrants who were pushing for deep changes surrounding

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

issues like the economy, gender, sexuality, and the family, the fear of anarchist corruption of “public morals” became more widespread.

From a broader legal perspective, one of the most significant results of *Gitlow v. New York* was the ruling that states were required to protect freedom of speech (despite the fact that Gitlow’s anarchistic speech in particular was not constitutionally protected). Though the ruling was not in his favor, Gitlow’s case is generally recognized as a landmark decision for the incorporation of the Bill of Rights into state law. However, in a sort of inversion of the discourse on incorporation, some states and cities argued that they should not have to cooperate with the federal government’s antiradical campaign specifically because the federal government was violating the rights of radicals. This was evident in a coordinated 1908 effort in which the federal immigration inspector assigned to each state wrote to state and municipal officials asking for any information they had on local anarchists who could potentially be arrested and deported. The reactions diverged greatly, with some city police forces outright refusing to be involved with such a campaign as it would be a violation of their constituents’ rights.

For example, Cleveland, Ohio’s chief of police informed the Immigration Service that he, “...would not think of prying into the affairs of residents of Cleveland so long as they kept the peace, and begged to be excused from interrogating aliens with whom his Department came into contact in the manner that I [Ohio’s immigration inspector] suggested.”³⁹ One immigration inspector wrote that he “did not think it advisable to take

³⁹ “Letter from Inspector Cullen to Commissioner-General of Immigration, March 31, 1908” in Martin P. Schipper, Robert Lester, Alan M. Kraut, and Todd Michael Portereds (eds.), *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Editorial Advisor, Alan Kraut. Series A, Subject Correspondence Files*,

up the matter of anarchists” with New Orleans’s chief of police because the chief, who had previously refused to relay information on prostitutes to the Bureau of Immigration, was, according to the immigration inspector, “nearer an anarchist than anyone I have ever met with.”⁴⁰ Instead, the inspector went to the city’s chief of detectives, who said he would provide any information on anarchists and advised the Inspector to “keep the matter away from the chief of police as much as possible.”⁴¹

Of course, opposition to the federal government’s antiradical campaign was far from unanimous. New York State responded with a list of fifteen radicals they swiftly arrested following their reception of the immigration inspector’s letter calling for action.⁴² San Francisco reported the arrest of several suspected anarchists for vagrancy, noting that, although “of late there has been a lack of arrests of suspected anarchists,” the police department had assigned special officers, “...to attend all their meetings and keep on their trail.”⁴³ Puerto Rico, meanwhile, replied with a lengthy list of anarchists on the island and mentioned two detectives being employed to investigate radicals there.⁴⁴ Outside of a few major cities, the majority of states and municipalities simply reported that there were no anarchists in their jurisdiction, but this was often not without antiradical fervor. For

Microfilm Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals, Reel 1. Research Collections in American Immigration. Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1992.

⁴⁰ “Report of Investigations as directed by circular No. 163, May 22, 1908”, in Schipper et. al, *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 1.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² “Letter from New York Commissioner to Commissioner-General of Immigration, May 18, 1908” in Schipper et. al, *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 1.

⁴³ “Letter from San Francisco Commissioner to Commissioner-General of Immigration, May 22, 1908” in Schipper et. al, *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 1.

⁴⁴ “Letter from Acting Chief of Insular Police of Porto Rico to Commissioner-General of Immigration, May 28 1908,” in Schipper et. al, *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 1.

example, Boston's immigration inspector reported to the commissioner-general that "the disease of anarchism has not seriously invaded this part of the country and we have so far failed to come in contact with specific cases of the anarchistic class."⁴⁵

What emerged was a patchwork alliance of (some) municipal and state police agencies cooperating with federal agents. While some cities and states made a fairly systematic effort to repress radicals in this loosely coordinated system by passing criminal anarchy laws and taking charge of investigating potential anarchists for deportation, overall this remained a scattered effort. Even with the cooperation of some police, there were serious limitations to the federal government's antiradical campaign as coordinating was arduous even if states did not protest the constitutionality of targeting individuals for their beliefs.

Actually, it was not just supposed rights to association and speech that were circumvented or ignored in the campaign against anarchism, but the rights to privacy and private property. In *Contraband: Smuggling and the Birth of the American Century*, historian Andrew Wender Cohen writes of *Boyd v. United States*, an 1886 case in which the Supreme Court ruled that search and seizure without a warrant was a violation of privacy and private property and therefore a violation of the Fourth Amendment. Just months after the decision, August Spies, one of the arrested anarchists during the Haymarket affair, wanted to appeal his case to the Supreme Court on the grounds of *Boyd v. United States*. Spies believed that his right to privacy had been violated since police had broken into his office without a warrant and seized a letter from the author of a pamphlet

⁴⁵ "Letter from to Boston Commissioner to Commissioner-General of Immigration, May 19, 1908" in Schipper et. al, *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 1.

on bomb making.⁴⁶ However, the Supreme Court refused to hear Spies's case, and he was executed along with three other anarchists in November 1887. It is, of course, impossible to tell what the Supreme Court felt about Spies's legal argument, but it was entirely possible that Spies had no such right to privacy, as state and city police had no obligation to follow the Bill of Rights at the time. Coupled with the laws restricting anarchist movement and ideas, it is clear that the scope of what was considered legal was subtly but importantly different in the Progressive Era in ways which had a substantive impact on the course of antiradicalism.

The laws being passed and the subsequent court decisions surrounding anarchist exclusion and criminal anarchy highlight many layers to the legal rationalization for anti-anarchism. First, there is the counter-terrorist logic of the government's right to defend itself, which applied not just to the prevention of actual terrorism, but to the suppression of ideas and groups considered by authorities to be associated with violence. Then, there is the idea that anarchism and anarchists are innately dangerous and corrupting, even if they pose no explicit or immediate threat to people or the government. Finally, there is the important factor of anxieties over anarchists' influence on morals and culture, which is often unstated in legislation and court rulings, but is highly illustrative of the growing phenomenon of antiradicalism.

Underlying the many layers of legal justifications for antiradicalism are different cultural expectations for the scope of political rights. Rather than being a static set of

⁴⁶ Andrew Wender Cohen, *Contraband: Smuggling and the Birth of the American Century* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2015), 265.

freedoms granted by the constitution and constitutional amendments, rights are interpreted differently (by courts, police, and the public alike) over time. It would be decades before the Supreme Court decisions concerning anarchists would be overturned, and even then, the change in position was only implicit. The right to privacy argued for in *Boyd v. United States*, meanwhile, would become a part of police practice over the course of years; Spies's argument that his papers were wrongfully searched without a warrant would soon become the common understanding of one's right to privacy. It was in the legal culture of the turn-of-the-century that the suppressive tactics of the US government were seen as acceptable. Perhaps this is specifically because the Palmer Raids had not happened yet; it would take more extreme repression for the underlying logic of the government's antiradicalism to become widely questioned. That is, the federal suppression of radicals was seen as reasonable in the 1900s and 1910s not just because the culture was different, but because the culture had not yet shifted in response to the logical extremes of antiradicalism.

2.6. Criminology and the Policing of Anarchism

The legislative and legal arguments against anarchism were, of course, impacted by the culture of the time and broader discourses on the radical, the immigrant radical, and the anarchist terrorist. Not only were broad expectations of political rights a part of the culture of antiradicalism, but so was science. Criminology, or criminal anthropology, used science to confirm cultural anxieties over anarchists and to link these anxieties with policing. Criminologists presented anarchists as criminals by their very nature and biology, making the deportation of anarchists a viable solution to the problem of radicalism, as anarchism was an intrinsic, traceable feature of individuals, rather than a philosophy or a reaction to social conditions.

Cesare Lombroso, widely considered the father of modern criminology, attempted to tie anarchists' physical appearances with their supposedly genetically inherited criminality through the science of phrenology or anthropometry. Lombroso wrote that, while "true revolutionists" like Italian republicans Mazzini and Garibaldi have "noble physiognomies" including "a very large forehead, a very bushy beard, and very large and soft eyes... with paleness of the face", anarchists he studied in Turin and Chicago "possess the degenerative characteristics common to criminals and to the insane," with 40 percent of anarchists featuring such characteristics.⁴⁷ Since these "degenerative characteristics" included dental abnormalities, old wounds, tattoos, and "anomalous coloration of the skin," it is clear that, though presented as a scientific way to identify criminals, in practice Lombroso's ideas used fears of anarchist terrorism to criminalize the bodies of non-white ethnic groups as well as lower class workers with tattoos, injuries, and lack of access to dental and other medical care. Far from marginal, these ideas were formally put into practice during the International Anti-Anarchist Conferences discussed above.

2.7. The Anarchist Response to Antiradicalism

Anarchists actually did not challenge the core tenets of Lombroso's anthropometry, but embraced it. For example, Pietro Gori, a prominent figure in Italian and Italian-American anarchism, "was influenced by and 'gladly publicized' Lombroso's ideas."⁴⁸ Inspired by works like Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, anarchists were strong believers in the natural sciences of the time, which included Lombroso's work.

⁴⁷ Cesare Lombroso, *The Physiognomy of the Anarchists*. (Philadelphia: s.n., 1993).

⁴⁸ Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle Against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878-1934*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 346.

Lombroso's respect even among the groups he criminalized speaks to the near-universal acceptance of his ideas. Instead of questioning any of Lombroso's framework of anthropometry, Gori used the same scientific methods to prove that anarchists were not only natural, but were ethically superior beings. As historian Carl Levy writes of Gori,

Gori's criminology and sociology, unlike Lombroso's, tried to demonstrate how anarchism was the natural result of human development. In other words, he lent scientific proof to a widespread opinion held by many Italian socialists of the Liberal era, that the anarchists were somehow better and more ethical, if slightly impractical, comrades.⁴⁹

While some anarchists like Gori argued that all anarchists were, in fact, ethical by nature, others instead tried to distance themselves from Lombroso's "criminal anarchist," arguing that there were distinctions to be made between the "criminal" and the "philosophical" anarchist, with many variations on the terminology. In a March 1894 article in the *Omaha Daily Bee*, for example, a self-described "theoretical anarchist" wrote, "The true anarchist, who may be styled the theoretical anarchist, in distinction from the criminal anarchist, believes that all human government is usurpation, tyranny, essentially wrong, an unjustifiable interference with personal liberty... Theoretical anarchists are the only persons justly entitled to the name anarchist; but most people... think anarchy necessarily implies confusion and strife. Hence the word anarchist is made to include a second class who may properly be styled criminal anarchists – a class with whom theoretical anarchists deem it no honor to be counted."⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Carl Levy, "'Sovversivismo': The radical political culture of otherness in Liberal Italy", *Journal of Political Ideologies* 12 (2007), 152.

⁵⁰ "What is an anarchist" *Omaha Daily Bee* (Omaha, Nebraska), March 18, 1894

This theoretical anarchist continued to remark on how “A prevalent error nowadays is to apply the word anarchist indiscriminately, as a term of reproach, to anyone who is considered bad.”⁵¹ Already in 1894, anarchism was associated with being “bad”; this moralism would eventually gain more specificity as anarchists became associated with counter-cultural challenges to American traditions and morality.

Despite some efforts to draw a distinction between philosophical and criminal anarchists, the government saw little if any difference and persecuted philosophical anarchists regardless of affiliation with any anarchist organization or evidence of violence. Not only does this follow the logic of anarchists being naturally inclined towards criminal acts, as explained by Lombroso, but it also shows how the very idea of anarchism, not just anarchist violence, was viewed as dangerous.

While philosophical anarchists tried to place themselves outside this threatening category, other anarchists more directly challenged the government’s project of antiradicalism. Some questioned policies specifically targeting anarchists on legal grounds, arguing that this was a violation of their civil rights. This discourse is very visible in the major court cases described above, when anarchists asserted certain rights to speech and privacy as a legal defense, but it was also a visible argument in anarchist periodicals. Other anarchists worked outside of the rights-based framework on principle, questioning the legal system itself rather than the specific legal arguments brought against them. For example, on the subject of suffrage and civil rights, Emma Goldman wrote, “The right to vote, or equal civil rights, may be good demands, but true emancipation begins neither at

⁵¹ Ibid.

the polls nor in courts.”⁵² Most anarchists did still use the language of rights, but it was not courts or the state which would, ideally, grant and protect these rights. Instead, the appeal to rights was an appeal to the ethical idea that all people deserved certain liberties.

One article from the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, translated by a government translator, criticizes the very idea of judges, saying, “Among the wicked instruments that power has invented in order to impose its tyranny, the judge is one of the most ingenious and ferocious... When a man enters into the judiciary [illegible], he ceases to be a part of humanity, to become an automaton of the penal code, a manufacturer of offenders.”⁵³ The anger expressed towards judges here makes some sense considering the legal persecution anarchists faced, and this helps us understand later events. The longer history of anarchists being arrested and imprisoned for their political beliefs helps explain the turn toward violence in the 1910s, when most of their chosen targets were mayors, judges, and government officials like Attorney General Palmer who were complicit in such repression.

2.8. Conclusion

Lawmakers, judges, police, the press, and criminologists presented anarchism and anarchists as a danger to the government’s existence, to police, and to morality and the public good. While many of the government’s laws and actions at the time might be considered unconstitutional or excessive today, the purpose in discussing the justification for antiradicalism is not to present radicals as civil rights martyrs, but to get at the heart of what Progressive Era antiradicalism was really about. Most of the literature frames anti-

⁵² Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays* (New York & London: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1911), 231.

⁵³ “Translation of part of articles published in the ‘Cronaca Sovversiva’ of January 1, 1916: The Judge” in *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 9.

anarchist legislation merely as a response to terrorism, and efforts to police anarchists and pass antiradical legislation certainly became heightened by the assassination of President McKinley. However, antiradicalism was not merely a fight against anarchist violence, but a project to control what sorts of ideas (and people) should be allowed to enter and spread within the United States. Despite the violent flashpoints that gain the most attention, the vast majority of cases in which radicals were arrested had more to do with controlling who belonged in the country and what morals and ideas were considered American. The criminalization and demonization of anarchism became connected to broader challenges to traditional American values and the social order, including capitalist ideology, traditional gender roles, and, as the next chapter will discuss, nationalism.

CHAPTER 3: NATIONALISM, RADICAL COSMOPOLITANISM, AND WARTIME LOYALTY

3.1. “Books of Violence and Blood”: Salvatore Zumpano, the Criminal Bookseller

On August 13, 1917, as the battle against radicalism gradually escalated, a grand jury indicted 166 alleged members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) for seditious conspiracy. A few weeks later, on September 5, federal investigators raided local IWW headquarters and halls throughout the country simultaneously in search of “German gold” to prove IWW treason. By November, 82 alleged IWW members had been arrested. A report on the arrests by a socialist periodical noted how this group of arrestees was “thoroughly international.” “Despite the newspaper attempts to make the IWW out to be largely Austro-Hungarian,” the list of 82 names included a “large number of American names... [as well as] Scandinavian, Swedish, Finnish, Russian, Mexican, Spanish, Italian, Irish... [and] relatively few Teutonic [Germanic] names.”¹ The article continued to proclaim that, “The IWW are truly The Industrial Workers of the World, with a membership of all nationalities and with international ramifications,” noting how the IWW’s attorneys mentioned in trial that the court proceedings would be reported to IWW locals in each of the Allied nations.² The stress on the international character of the IWW here served several interconnected purposes: first, to point out that there were few “Teutonic names” of members (i.e. to challenge a prevailing narrative that radicals were disloyal, German sympathizers), to proclaim an ideology of internationalism, and to

¹ “The IWW Arrests and Trials” *The New International* (New York, NY), November 1, 1917

² Ibid.

threateningly imply that, despite not being German sympathizers, the IWW could harm the war effort with strike activity in Allied nations, if the US IWWs faced further injustice.

Among the 82 arrested radicals was an Italian-American bookseller, Salvatore Zumpano, whose case indicates many more complexities to the issue of nationality. Perhaps the most curious evidence against Zumpano was two ounces of ashes, which were allegedly from the cremated remains of “Stromberg,” an “IWW leader who was executed at Salt Lake City about two years” before the 1917 arrests. As there does not seem to be anyone by the name of Stromberg who was executed in Salt Lake City, this would seem to be a misspelling of Joe Hill’s pseudonym, Joseph Hillström, stemming perhaps from the fact that the German “Berg” translates to “mountain.” Hill was executed on November 19, 1915 following an internationally criticized murder trial. “Stromberg’s” will was also reportedly found among Zumpano’s possessions and which the press reported to have, “directed that his body be cremated and the ashes be distributed among the faithful members of the organization.”³ Hill’s ashes were indeed distributed among IWWs in small packets. With his ashes becoming evidence of anarchism, his execution gave new meaning to the criminalization of the anarchist body.

Besides the issue of his possession of Joe Hill’s ashes, Zumpano’s criminal case did not focus on his IWW membership. Instead, the evidence against him primarily concerned the kinds of literature he sold in his bookstore. The war on the anarchist idea

³ “Kept Leader’s Ashes”, *Harrisburg Daily Telegraph* (Harrisburg, PA), June 9, 1917. Joe Hill’s will specifically read, “My body? Oh, if I could choose I would to ashes it reduce / And let the merry breezes blow / My dust to where some flowers grow / Perhaps some fading flower then / Would come to life and bloom again.”

was clearly still being waged, as the Immigrant Inspector's findings on Zumpano's case claimed that "the exhibits in [Zumpano's] case are books of violence and blood."⁴

The defense countered this argument by pointing out the wide variety of items sold by Zumpano that had nothing to do with anarchism, with the defense's case especially focusing on Zumpano's store carrying the Bible. Zumpano claimed, "The reason I sold those books which were found in my possession is because they permit the printing of such books in Italy, in this country, and in other parts of the World, and if they were forbidden to be sold in this country, why don't they arrest the very editor or printer of said books... I sold them books as much as I would sell the Bible."⁵ Zumpano also alleged that he did not register for the draft because, according to him, authorities stole \$20 from his shop (the equivalent of several hundred of 2015 dollars, roughly speaking) when they raided it, and he felt that, if they could break the rules, then he should be able to as well. Whether or not Zumpano's allegations were true, they point to what sort of police actions during a raid would have been feasible in 1917; regardless of other issues in contemporary policing, one would have trouble imagining contemporary federal police stealing a few hundreds of dollars from a bookstore.

3.2. Background

Zumpano's case illustrates how practices surrounding the policing of radicalism and radicals came to be deeply tied to immigration, assimilation, and nationalism. The response from radicals to the arrest of Zumpano and his fellow IWWs, noting the

⁴ "Findings: Sheet #5" in in *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 5.

⁵ "Transcript: June 30, 1917 Hearing", in *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 5.

internationalism of the IWW but emphatically rejecting the idea that their members were Germans, points to how issues of nationalism, loyalty, and immigration were deeply contested in very complicated ways. While radicals in general had often diverging views on nationalism and the state, anarchists in particular opposed the nation-state, putting them in direct conflict with the nationalist ideology of Americanism. A notably small number of anarchists targeted presidents, prime ministers, and monarchs with violence and provoked an international effort to stop political violence, but virtually all anarchists sought to do away with the nation-state more broadly. The anarchists' fight against the nation-state was often waged through counter-culture rather than with guns and bombs, but by World War I their questioning of nationalism was viewed as a serious threat to America.

This chapter will show how the radical cosmopolitanism of the anarchists posed a challenge to the nationalism of the Progressive Era. Throughout the beginning of the twentieth century, anarchists were viewed by many government officials as threats to the nation and the values it claimed to defend and represent. World War I transformed those loose connections into more urgent concerns with sedition and loyalty. Through this, the anarchists became not just a potential source of crime and violence, but were considered enemies of the United States itself. Not only did anarchism need to be defended against, but the nationalistic social conservative ideology of Americanism came to be defined in opposition to radicalism. After the suppression of anarchism was thoroughly justified in the years before World War I, the war transformed the ideology of antiradicalism into a broader project which encapsulated more political groups and became interlinked with national identity.

3.3. Radical Cosmopolitanism

As historians in recent years have sought to transcend borders and understand marginal populations in their historical analyses, the position of American anarchists as immigrants who opposed nations and nationalism has become a topic of notable interest. Many cultural histories have noted how anarchists formed vibrant immigrant cultures within the United States. Kenyon Zimmer wrote in his dissertation, “The Whole World is Our Country,”

Anarchists... embraced an ideology that opposed both Americanization and Old World nationalisms, severing their attachments to their states of origin while willfully resisting assimilation into their host society. They formulated a radical cosmopolitan outlook and identity that embraced diversity, rejected hierarchies, and extended solidarity across national, ethnic, and racial divides. This cosmopolitanism was ultimately unable to withstand the onslaught of competing nationalisms ranging from Americanism to fascism to Zionism, but it stands as an important example of a transnational collective identity delinked from nationalism, the nationstate and racial hierarchies.⁶

The anarchists’ peculiar blend of internationalism, anti-nationalism, and transnationalism was coined “radical cosmopolitanism” by Zimmer, building upon the concept of cosmopolitanism articulated by David Hollinger in *Post-Ethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*.

The radical cosmopolitanism of the anarchists helped them create a vibrant counter-culture that filled many roles in immigrant communities that were more traditionally filled by the church and nation, including holidays, communal celebrations, artistic

⁶ Zimmer, “The Whole World is Our Country”, v.

performances, and social welfare. Radical communities became both larger and more close-knit as immigrant cultures and radical politics became increasingly intertwined.

Radical cosmopolitanism is not only important in understanding how the anarchist movement grew within immigrant communities, but, when considered as part of the Long Red Scare, might help us better understand the cultural conflict underlying antiradicalism. Recent historical literature on anarchism has tended to focus on either the culture of anarchism, like works focusing on this idea of radical cosmopolitanism, or on the response to anarchist terrorism, like works focusing on the First Red Scare. Often, cultural histories of anarchism downplay the role of terrorism and don't focus on the perspective of the state, while histories of anarchist terrorism cite little from the cultural histories and don't focus on the perspective of anarchists. The issue of radical cosmopolitanism and American nationalism is an area where these two often separated bodies of literature actually inform one another very meaningfully.

The root of the conflict surrounding radicalism cosmopolitanism is that, while radical cosmopolitanism was a binding force within the movement, it was polarizing from the perspective of outsiders, as many viewed these cosmopolitan immigrants as un-American and unwilling to assimilate. Radicals embraced difference, and this made them appear as "different" to Americans. Moreover, by questioning nationalism in general, and American nationalism in particular, immigrant radicals could easily be framed as being "anti-American." This only augmented the ability of adherents to Americanism to demarcate the cultural boundaries of America by contrasting "radical" values with "traditional" ones.

Lauren Basson writes in *White Enough to Be American?: Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation* that, “Two common responses to the anarchist challenge illustrate how the process of defining Americanism as a form of ascriptive and ideological property occurred.”⁷ The first of these responses to anarchism is how officials, investigators, and reports “tried to marginalize and delegitimize the concerns articulated by anarchists by portraying these political activists as racialized foreigners.”⁸ Of course, the majority of anarchists in the United States were European immigrants, and many were naturalized citizens. Their embrace of difference and their unwillingness to assimilate may have helped the radicals appear as foreigners, but the fact that they were also racialized highlights how, as Basson describes, “one’s racial and national status [was] defined in moral terms as a function of one’s ideological beliefs.”⁹

The second response to the anarchist challenge to Americanism highlighted how Americanists sought to exclude anarchists in order to make the United States more homogenous. As Basson continues, “...because many US officials and observers depicted the urban environments in which anarchists lived as mixed, they debated ways to restore the purity not only of the American people but also of American soil. In this sense, they viewed the anarchist challenge as a threat to the territorial integrity of the US state and sought ways to restore the homogenous, American character of that territory.”¹⁰ By embracing differences and heterogeneity, then, anarchists unintentionally spurred their

⁷ Lauren L. Basson, *White Enough to be American?: Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2008), 144.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

opponents towards a cultural hegemony that sought to erase anarchism not just from America, but also from the unassimilated immigrant.

3.4. An Internationalist Response to a World War

In the context of World War I, the project to homogenize America by excluding radical ideas and people became interconnected with the war effort, because radicals were often vocal opponents of the war. The IWW passed a resolution in 1916 proclaiming, “...we openly declare ourselves the determined opponents of all nationalistic sectionalism, or patriotism, and the militarism preached and supported by our one enemy, the capitalist class.”¹¹ Socialists like Eugene Debs were imprisoned for voicing opposition to the war and to the draft. Anarchists like Luigi Galleani called for radicals to avoid the draft by fleeing to Mexico. Actions in protest of the war ranged from anti-war pamphlets and speeches, to strikes and sabotage in industries critical to the war effort, and even, in some cases, to bombings.

Since most radicals were immigrants from Europe, they had very good reason to resist the war so actively for its violence alone, as their families and friends were on the frontlines of the conflict. The anarchist critique of nationalism was corroborated and intensified by the experience of the violent war and its accompanying patriotism. Alberico Pirani, an anarchist who fled the United States to avoid the draft, explained his actions by proclaiming, “I’m international. I ain’t got no country. When you mention country and religion, wash your mouth. That’s the way you kill millions of people, for God and country

¹¹ Industrial Workers of the World, *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the IWW*, (New York: New York Labor News Company, 1917), 110.

and flag.”¹² Of course, as much as the war seemed to substantiate the anarchists’ critique of nationalism, their linking of their anti-war and anti-nationalist views also corroborated the view that opposing the war was seditious.

3.5. National Policing of Transnational Radicals

The government began to more systematically surveil anarchists during World War I in part because of anarchists’ opposition to nationalism and the war, but it was specifically this opposition to nationalism which made anarchists so difficult to police. Immigrant radicals could - and did - move across borders to avoid prosecution, of course, but their internationalism also made them very difficult to trace and deport.

Kenyon Zimmer presents a quintessential example of this with the story of Shmel Markus, more commonly known as his pseudonym Marcus Graham. Graham, a Romanian-born Jewish anarchist who immigrated to Philadelphia in 1907, fled to Montreal in 1916 to avoid the draft. There, he became wanted by authorities after being an active participant in anti-war and anti-conscription activities, so he fled to Toronto and began publishing a Yiddish anarchist paper there. He snuck back into New York in 1919, and began publishing another periodical there which, Zimmer writes, “flagrantly violated the Sedition Act, [so] members of the group distributed it in and around New York by throwing copies out of windows and off of roofs, or stuffing them into mailboxes in working-class neighborhoods.”¹³ Graham was arrested in New Jersey for being in possession of the propaganda, and insisted he was a Canadian citizen named Robert Parsons from a town

¹² Kenyon Zimmer, *Immigrants Against the State: Yiddish and Italian Anarchism in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 140.

¹³ Zimmer, “The Whole World is Our Country”, 334.

whose public records were burned in a fire. After posting bail, he continued to publish the illicit propaganda. A warrant for his deportation to Montreal was issued despite there being no record of him living in Canada before 1917, but Graham, instead of reporting for his deportation hearing, fled to England. Three months later, he returned to Toronto and later moved again to New York. He was arrested yet again, this time, “interrogated for twenty-four hours, stripped naked, and beaten with fists, blackjacks, and sticks,” as authorities wished to know the location where he was publishing his new periodical.¹⁴

During this arrest, Graham continued to insist he was Canadian, but deporting him to Canada was proving to be impossible, as one agent noted, “Canadian Authorities are not inclined to receive him and at the same time a permit to leave this country for Russia was not as yet obtained for him.”¹⁵ After Canada, Russia, and even Mexico refused to accept the deportee, Graham was eventually released on bail, living in the country illegally for years due to the deportation warrant which the US government could not actually execute. Graham’s remarkably international journey was far from the typical story of deporting radicals, but it still indicates the extent to which radicals could freely subvert and circumvent attempts to restrict their movement, as well as the obstacle posed by the fact that no governments particularly wanted to receive America’s radicals.

At the turn of the century, a commonly proposed solution to this legal quandary was to simply deport all of the anarchists to an island. John Dos Passos, a member of the New York Bar Association, was quoted as suggesting that

the powers should agree upon a suitable island and transport thither all persons convicted of [criminal anarchism]; provide them plentifully with the usual weapons used by anarchist assassins, appropriate implements for

¹⁴ Ibid., 335.

¹⁵ Ibid., 336.

agriculture and fishing, etc., and such supply of food, clothing, and household effects as might be necessary to start them in business. After that let them work for their own living, and live or starve as they might elect. As people of this class consider that all governments are objectionable, give them none, but merely provide a gun boat to see that they are not taken from the island.... They might perhaps in the course of a short time realize something of the desirability of law and order, and probably find out that all men are not born equal.¹⁶

This bizarre scenario apparently had enough merit to be worthy of publication in the *Canada Law Journal*. Similarly, in 1899, when Emma Goldman was barred from speaking on “Authority vs. Liberty” by police in Vermont, a local reverend delivered a sermon the next week critiquing Goldman’s banned talk (which had, by then, been distributed in paper form), saying, “Authority [is] absolutely essential to Liberty” and suggesting “an island in the sea for Anarchists.”¹⁷ While shipping anarchists to an island may have not actually been a feasible solution to the anarchist problem, it illustrates the serious doubts many people had about simply deporting them to other countries as a viable solution to radicalism.

In addition to international radicals being logistically difficult to deport, the anarchists’ cosmopolitan embrace of their home languages added layers of complication to the US government’s task of surveilling them. Government translations of anarchist periodicals, like the translations featured in investigations into individual anarchists, are fairly hit-and-miss. For example, in the case described above about the bookseller Zumpano, the initial raid of his Italian-language bookstore, which included the seizure of many non-anarchist books, displays a serious language barrier in investigating immigrant radicals. The special agent in charge of the Zumpano investigation reported that Zumpano

¹⁶ *The Canada Law Journal*, Volume 37, No. 20, November 1901, 757.

¹⁷ *Barre Evening Telegram* (Barre, VT) February 6, 1899

was probably a subscriber to “an anarchist paper published in Lynn, Mass., the name of which may be ‘Italian Anarchist.’”¹⁸ No such periodical existed, and this was a clear misnomer of the Lynn-based anarchist periodical the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. Still, the agent requested the subscription list of this non-existent periodical from the Department of Justice.¹⁹ Moreover, a list of the titles of books sold in Zumpano’s store included odd translations by federal investigators like “Five Weeks in a Balloon,” which would seem to actually be *Around the World in Eighty Days* by Jules Verne, given its position next to the somewhat more on-target “A Trip to the Centre of the Earth”, presumably Verne’s *Journey to the Center of the Earth*.²⁰ While the defense later noted the largely apolitical nature of the store’s inventory, those present at the raid of Zumpano’s store likely thought each of the unfamiliar, Italian-language texts was a potential “book of violence.”

The English-language translations featured in government records remained fairly consistent in their accuracy (or lack thereof) even after an act was passed on October 8, 1917 mandating foreign-language periodicals “containing any news item, editorial, or other printed matter respecting the Government of the United States, or of any nation engaged in the present war, its policies, international relations, the state or conduct of war, or any matter relating thereto,” be translated and submitted to the nearest postmaster before the periodical would be allowed to be sent through the mail.²¹ Foreign-language anarchist periodicals did contain required notices saying such translations were sent to the

¹⁸ “Copy of Letter Received by Roy C. McHenry,” June 28, 1917, in *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ “United States v. Salvatore Zumpano, Before the Secretary of Labor,” in *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 5.

²¹ “Laws Denying Use of United States Mails to Seditious and Disloyal Publications as Interpreted by Postmaster General” in *Official US Bulletin*, October 27, 1917

postmaster, but such activity does not seem apparent in the Immigration and Naturalization Service records. The INS records after these dates still contain translator's notes, which are clearly from the government's perspective (noting when material seems anti-militaristic, anarchistic, and so on, for example). There is no mention of submitted translated material or material received from the postal service. The views expressed by anarchists in these records are also clear violations of the Trading with the Enemy Act, so it is likely their submitted translations were either not "true" translations, that they did not actually submit all material pertaining to the war, or the postmaster in some localities completely ignored such submitted material.

However flawed government translations were, many historians have used them as primary sources to discuss the anarchists' perspective. This is entirely understandable; a few apparent mistakes in the government sources does not mean historians should have to be fluent in the multiple languages of the radical press to write about it. Despite these translated documents becoming key primary sources for historians writing about anarchism, they remain under-examined. More than just providing an alternative path towards reading the radical press, government translations actually have much to reveal about the government perspective as well.

Perhaps the most revealing aspect of the government translations of the radical press is the selection of specific articles that were chosen to distribute within the agency and keep on file. The majority of fully translated articles concerned the war, a topic of much discussion at the time, but only one of many subjects discussed in the radical press. While pre-translated war-related materials mandated by the Trading with the Enemy Act apparently did not reach immigration inspectors, the Bureau of Immigration's own

translators still focused overwhelmingly on translating articles on the war. Still, there is certainly enough material on other subjects to further suggest the Immigration Bureau was not only operating with required, war-related Trading with the Enemy Act translations.

It did not take a call for anti-militarist action or instructions on evading the draft to gain the attention of immigration agents. For example, one translated article, titled “Next War,” discussed the future threat posed by American militarism even if Germany was defeated, challenging the “war-to-end-all-wars” narrative of World War I. Another translated article, “From the Trenches and From Home,” was simply one letter from a soldier and one letter from a mother in Italy sharing her thoughts on the war. The soldier recounted his recent experiences in the trenches in details before concluding, “We must hope that they will get tired of sacrificing us to vain ideals, to send us back to our homes... [E]very soldier nourishes in his heart the secret hope the people themselves would decide about war and peace, avenging the dead on the crowned heads and on the vile merchants of our skins.”²² The mother’s letter, while not quite as vengeful, paints a similarly grim picture of the war’s effect on those away from the front, writing that the poor choose “Whether to die of hunger without protesting or a of a brotherly bullet whenever one dares to ask for a sufficient quantity of food to keep body and soul together. The dead are yet the more fortunate... How I would like to be over there [in America], and so would also all the others who have been scattered by the war whether at the front or in the ammunition factories.”²³

²² “Article on No. 45 of Nov. 10, 1917 of the Cronaca Souversiva (sic): From the Trenches and From Home” in *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 9.

²³ “In every number of the ‘Cronaca Sovversiva’ there are numerous advertisements...” in *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 9.

Even letters to the editor that mentioned the war were translated and distributed to immigration officials. One letter from West Frankfurt, Illinois proclaimed, according to the translation, “[Returning volunteers] have given proof of their loyalty to the country and the country needs more loyals within its country than outside,” before giving a cautionary message about the untrustworthy workers within their ranks. These letters from readers, though not necessarily indicative of the ideas of the publication itself, helped provide evidence for the politics of the readership. So, though typically anonymous, these letters could be used as evidence against accused anarchists from their respective towns.

Also among the translations were calls for meetings, beginning with an advertisement on January 29, 1916 for the “Great International Popular Meeting in New York.” This meeting was probably not international in the sense of people coming from across the world to attend it, but in its subject and its multi-ethnic program and audience. The meeting concerned how, “In Europe, the tragic dawn of every day marks some victims, always proletarian victims. Hour after hour the red blood of the best youth flows from the torrents on the fields, once florid, ruined today by the iron heel of the beautified and drunken soldiers.” The event included orators speaking in Italian, English, German, French, and Russian, calling on workers across ethnic lines to “come and affirm by a mass meeting your aversion for the bloodying war...” (The translator also notes that one of the advertised speakers, Luigi Galleani, was “probably substituted by Umberto Postiglione” despite the advertisement being released just a day before the actual meeting, perhaps to excuse the translator’s own failure to notice the fugitive Galleani’s publicly advertised location at the time.) Tellingly, the translator only included summarizing details about other anarchist meetings discussed in this document, such as meeting locations and who

was calling for the meeting; it was only the anti-war meeting in particular that seemed to warrant a full, verbatim translation.

The government translators sometimes made note of the sorts of publications being advertised for sale in anarchist periodicals, also with a noteworthy focus on articles pertaining to issues of loyalty. In one example, the translator noted that, “In every number of the ‘Cronaca Sovversiva’ there are numerous advertisements regarding publications for anarchical propaganda. In this particular number 5 of January 29, 1916, the principal advertisements are the following...” The translator then continues to list, in addition to other periodicals advertised in the publication like Alexander Berkman’s *The Blast*, every single patriotism- and war-related publication in the periodical, such as “Preparedness and Patriotism” by Emma Goldman, “War and Capitalism” by Peter Kropotkin, and “The Last War” by G. Barnott.²⁴ The translator, meanwhile, ignored dozens of advertised publications that did not imply such subject matter in the title, including a lengthy list featured in that week’s issue of English-language titles of works by surely recognizable authors like Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Margaret Sanger.

When used in tandem with subscription lists, this exhaustive record of anti-war propaganda provided evidence for the anarchist politics and disloyalty of the readers. However, the war transformed radicalism as much as it transformed antiradicalism. The 1919-20 First Red Scare was framed not only as a means to rid the country of “the radical element” broadly, but as a measure against anarchist terrorism which, though relatively absent from the United States for many years after McKinley’s assassination, saw a resurgence during the war.

²⁴ Ibid.

3.6. “Against the War, Against the Peace”: The War and Anarchist Violence

Up until the 1919 bombings, it was the anarchist challenge to nationalism and war, rather than the anarchist threat of violence or the anarchist challenge to the state’s very existence that proved to be the most significant motivation for antiradicalism. This was not just because the government cared more about defending the war effort than it had cared about suppressing anarchism before the war, but because the war catalyzed many changes in the anarchist movement itself to make it a more potent threat. The brutality of the war provided evidence and urgency to the anarchist critique of nationalism, the state, and capitalism that would have been especially compelling for European immigrants, as millions of workers from their home countries were sent to fight and die in the trenches against those of other countries who had done no harm to them in the United States.

On July 22, 1916, the largest parade the city of San Francisco had ever seen was held to rally support for the coming entrance of the United States into World War I. The parade featured over fifty thousand marchers, over two thousand organizations, and over fifty bands, all raising morale for the war effort in a monumental display of patriotism and Americanism. However, the unprecedentedly immense celebration was soon interrupted by equally unprecedented violence, as a pipe bomb containing dynamite and metal shrapnel exploded in the parade, killing ten people and injuring forty. This bombing remains the largest terrorist attack in the history of San Francisco.

The majority of the literature on the San Francisco Preparedness Day bombing focuses on the city’s efforts to convict two IWW members, Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings, for the attack. Mooney and Billings were both convicted and sentenced to death despite an infamously weak case against them. As they would do in the trial of

Sacco and Vanzetti years later, radicals set up a defense committee to advocate for Mooney and Billings, claiming that their trial was a case of political persecution without any substantive basis in evidence. Unlike Sacco and Vanzetti, however, after years of protest, both Mooney and Billings had their death sentences commuted, and, in 1939, both were pardoned due to overwhelming evidence of perjury in their trial.

With the benefit of historical retrospect, it seems that it was not IWWs who were responsible for the bombing; instead it was most likely Italian anarchists. Not only did the bomb-making methods and modus operandi of Italian anarchist attacks in later years parallel that of the Preparedness Day bombing, but anarchists would later make statements indicating personal knowledge or involvement in the event. Luigi Galleani, the noted intellectual leader of the Italian anarchists behind the majority of the bombings of the 1910s, claimed in his 1918 deportation hearing that, “It isn’t an impression I have that Mooney is innocent; I have mathematical certitude that he is innocent.”²⁵ When pressed for more information or evidence, Galleani became defensive, saying, “It is a very ticklish affair upon which I do not wish to comment; I am positively sure that it was not Mooney who threw the bomb.”²⁶

The framing of the bombing around the subsequent trial has made Mooney and Billings an early symbol of radical political persecution, framing the First Red Scare as an antiradical witch-hunt. The case is, however, representative of much more than just the political persecution and martyrdom of the First Red Scare, especially when the Italian anarchists now thought to be responsible are considered more closely. Knowing

²⁵ Luigi Galleani as quoted in Paul Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 138.

²⁶ Ibid.

that the attack was not an isolated incident of rogue IWWs (or, as another theory of the time claimed, of German spies), the Preparedness Day bombing can be framed as a both bloody and symbolic start of a bombing campaign that lasted several years and that was waged by anarchists, as one article put it, not only “against the war,” but “against the peace” the everyday violence waged at home under American capitalism.

The war, from its very start, brought the question of pacifism to the forefront for anarchists in Europe and in European diasporas in America, even long before the United States became involved. For example, in November 1914, Errico Malatesta, an Italian anarchist who was highly influential in the United States (and who toured in the United States several times throughout the war) wrote in response to many socialists and some anarchists who supported the Allies in the war. He published an article titled “Anarchists Have Forgotten their Principles,” saying,

Let us return to our principles. I am not a “pacifist.” I fight, as we all do, for the triumph of peace and of fraternity amongst all human beings; but I know that a desire not to fight can only be fulfilled when neither side wants to, and so long as men will be found who want to violate the liberties of others, it is incumbent on these others to defend themselves if they do not want to be eternally beaten; and I also know that to attack is often the best, or the only, effective means of defending oneself.²⁷

Here, Malatesta, though considered a political rival of Luigi Galleani, the Italian-American anarchist most associated with the violence of the 1910s, is making the quintessential wartime case for political violence: It is defensive, on one hand, and necessary to abolish the violent systems of capitalism and militarism to achieve true “peace and fraternity amongst all human beings”, on the other. Malatesta’s sentiment

²⁷ Davide Turcato (ed.), *Method of Freedom: An Errico Malatesta Reader* (Oakland: AK Press, 2014), 379.

surrounding pacifism here was one which was repeated by anarchists countless times throughout the war.

In discussing pacifism and the war, Malatesta also contrasts anarchist internationalism with wartime nationalism, writing,

[W]hat has the present war in common with human emancipation, which is our cause? ... [T]he mission of those who, like us, wish to end all oppression and of all exploitation of man by man, is to awaken a consciousness of the antagonism of interests between dominators and dominated, between exploiters and workers, and to develop the class struggle inside each country, and the solidarity among all workers across the frontiers, as against any prejudice and any passion of either race or nationality... the workers of all countries are brothers, and... the enemy – the ‘foreigner’ – is the exploiter, whether born near us or in a far-off country, whether speaking the same language or any other...²⁸

Here, Malatesta is inverting the rhetoric of the foreign threat to mean not those of foreign nation, but those of other, superior classes in society. Although Malatesta is not even particularly known as an advocate of political violence, this reframing of the enemy as exploiters/dominators rather than German soldiers implies a revolutionary political violence to replace the violence of war. As Malatesta continues,

If, when foreign soldiers invade the sacred soil of the Fatherland, the privileged class were to renounce their privileges, and would act so that the ‘Fatherland’ really became the common property of all the inhabitants, it would then be right that all should fight against the invaders. But, [if not]... the Socialists and Anarchists should leave them to their own devices, while being themselves on the look-out for an opportunity to get rid of the oppressors inside the country, as well as those coming from the outside... it is the duty of the Socialists, and especially of the anarchists, to do everything that can weaken the State and the capitalist class.²⁹

²⁸ Ibid., 380.

²⁹ Ibid., 381.

Malatesta concluded with a prediction that after a long war, “both sides being exhausted, some kind of peace will be patched up, leaving all questions open, thus preparing for a new war more murderous than the present” and only preferred a German defeat because “the only hope is revolution,” which had the highest probability of breaking out in a “vanquished Germany.”³⁰ Malatesta’s statements, more than showing a regrettably somewhat accurate foresight, highlight how the war brought serious hopes of revolution, which many believed could actually be sparked with some “revolutionary” acts of violence.

Anarchists were moved toward violence not only by the brutality of the war, but by some of the same wartime discourses on masculinity that motivated soldiers and patriots. As noted by Christa Hämmerle, Christa, O. Überegger, O., and B. Bader-Zaar in their recent edited collection on gender in World War I, “Neither the societies of the belligerent nations between 1914 and 1918 nor the consequences of the First World War can be sufficiently documented and understood without considering the analytical category of gender. Historians of women and gender have impressively revealed this fact over the last decades... the total war of 1914-1918 led to extensive support by women not only at the so-called ‘home front’ – which was mainly conceived as a women’s sphere – but also in the battle zones. In addition and always corresponding to war-related constructions of womanhood, soldiery masculinity was idealized in a far more powerful way than ever before.”³¹ Just as the war itself cannot be sufficiently understood without

³⁰ Ibid., 382.

³¹ Christa Hämmerle et. al, *Gender and the First World War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), 1.

considering the role of gender, neither can the wartime conflict between the US government and anarchists.

Christopher Capozzola writes in his book *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen*, “Conscientious objectors were frequently attacked as unmanly or cowardly. It was an easy, albeit sloppy, bit of logic: if all men must serve, then those who refused were not truly men.”³² Of course, many anarchists were not merely conscientious objectors; they were draft resisters and anti-war revolutionaries who proclaimed themselves to be “Against the War, Against the Peace, for the Social Revolution.”³³ Rather than challenging the fundamental logic behind the claim that those who did not serve were not men, these anti-war radicals asserted their manliness by serving causes besides that of the nation. In this way, anarchists inverted the gendered logic of the wartime state, fulfilling their masculine duty by serving the revolutionary cause rather than the war effort, even if it required war-like violence.

The Italian anarchists explained most of their attacks in the 1910s as being defensive and retributive, responding to specific acts of repression and defending the honor and very existence of their movement. More than presenting themselves as defenders rather than instigators, similar to the US government’s justification for antiradicalism, this framing of defense was intimately tied up with gendered concepts of duty and the family. This defensive framing is particularly visible in one of the most commonly expressed

³² Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 65.

³³ Mentana (pseud. Luigi Galleani), “Contro la Guerra, Contro la Pace, per la Rivoluzione Sociale.” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, March 18, 1916.

motivations for anarchist violence: the vendetta. Similar to how service in the military was not just a performance of masculinity, but an ethical duty of men, participation in class war through vendetta was a part of a man's responsibility among the insurrectionists.

The *Cronaca Sovversiva*, the Italian-American anarchist periodical most closely associated with the anarchist bombers of the 1910s as well as Sacco and Vanzetti, described many revolutionary acts as vendettas. The term *vendetta* appears nearly 600 times in the periodical, while the plural *vendette* appears at least 240 times. In comparison, a more commonly discussed term in historical literature, *attentato*, which describes political violence hoping to inspire revolution (also known as the “attentat” or “propaganda by deed”), only appears around 525 times.³⁴ Though *vendetta* was sometimes used in reference to revenge executed by the government rather than by anarchists, it usually had a sense of honor to it. For example, one popular tale was of a boy called Balilla who is said to have thrown a stone at occupying Austrian troops which started a 1746 revolt in Italy; the *Cronaca Sovversiva* vividly described Balilla's actions as, “The first vendetta; eager, merciless, unrelenting; fertilizing the crops of justice and freedom with a vermillion dew.”³⁵

The role played by the vendetta in anarchist political violence in the 1910s is best understood not only as a facet of Italian immigrant culture, but also as a part of wartime

³⁴ Figures are from the search function of Chronicling America's database, which for the Italian language in particular sometimes misses words, especially if there is a line break in the middle of the word, so the actual counts of each term's appearance may be somewhat higher.

(<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/search/pages/results/?lccn=2012271201&dateFilterType=yearRange&date1=1836&date2=1922&sequence=0&language=&ortext=vendetta&andtext=&phrasertext=&proxtext=&proxdistance=5&rows=20&searchType=advanced>)

³⁵ “Maggio di Passione”, *Cronaca Sovversiva*. (Lynn, MA) 29 April 1916. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/2012271201/1916-04-29/ed-1/seq-1/>>

masculinity. The vendetta was a deeply gendered concept in Italian culture and law, and it was not only something men did, but something men were expected to do. Historian Edward Muir discusses the link between the vendetta and masculinity, writing,

The pursuit of vendettas was inextricably linked to the Mediterranean ideal of masculinity, which David Gilmore has characterized as striving for “performative excellence.” A man who is “good at being a man” follows a script that involves him in public displays of physical risk, which he meets with decision and useful action... When he or someone close to him is hurt by another...the good man seeks revenge by which he retaliates in an appropriate way, ideally matching the injury with an equal or greater injury.³⁶

In the case of anarchist political violence, the “good man” sought revenge for the crimes of the government and capitalists, though there was often no way to “match the injury” created by institutions and wars. The vendetta motive was clear in early acts of Italian-American anarchist political violence. For example, Gaetano Bresci, a New Jersey-based anarchist, said he killed King Umberto I of Italy specifically to avenge the hundreds of striking workers killed by the Italian military in the 1898 Bava-Beccaris Massacre, for which General Bava-Beccaris was decorated with a medal by the king.³⁷ Years later, when millions were sent to die in the trenches in World War I, and many thousands of radicals were repressed for protesting the war, anarchists could not fully match the injury they were responding to, but escalated their retaliatory actions to include more attempted assassinations as well as bombing campaigns. While vendetta was not exclusive to the war, it was magnified by it.

³⁶ Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli During the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 32

³⁷ “1900: The Assassination of King Umberto I of Italy” (<https://libcom.org/history/1900-assassination-king-umberto-i-italy>) (Accessed November 5, 2015)).

The vendetta motivation is clear in the anarchists' targets alone, as most attacks did not target any and all members of the government and the business elite, but those who were specifically involved in the repression of radicals. In April 1919, for example, thirty-six bombs were sent through the mail to police officials, capitalists, and politicians. The targets included Bureau of Investigation officers tasked with investigating radicals, a senator who co-sponsored the anti-anarchist Immigration Act of 1918, and Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle, who had recently fought against the Seattle General Strike and ordered the arrest of dozens of IWWs in its aftermath. Had the packages been purely political in aim, they may have had a more strategic list of targets; the presidential line of succession, for example. Instead, the list points to a motive of revenge for perceived wrongs committed against radicals.

The role played by the vendetta was also visible in the manifestos that accompanied the bombings. For example, on June 2, 1919, eight bombs were set off across the country, and along with shrapnel they sent a flyer titled "Plain Words" flying. Its text shows that the motivation behind the attack wasn't just an ideological attempt at inspiring insurrection, but also a cultural attempt at attaining justice through an act of vendetta, as it proclaims,

We have aspired to a better world, and you jailed us, you clubbed us, you deported us, you murdered us whenever you could. Now that the great war, waged to replenish your purses... is over, nothing better can you do to protect your stolen millions... than to direct all the power of the murderous institutions you created for your exclusive defense... The jails, the dungeons you reared to bury all protesting voices, are now replenished with languishing conscientious workers ... We know that all you do is for your defense as a class; we know also that the proletariat has the same right to protect itself, since their press has been suffocated, their mouths muzzled; we mean to speak for them the voice of dynamite, through the mouth of

guns. Do not say... it is abominable; it is war, class war, and you were the first to wage it under cover of the powerful institutions you call order³⁸

This excerpt highlights several ways in which the bombings that day were in retaliation to the war, incarceration, police brutality, killings of radicals, and deportations. It also highlights a sense of duty and protection which is bound to the idea of the vendetta, though the anarchists seem themselves as defending the proletariat rather than themselves or their families as a typical vendetta would aim to do. Indeed, “Plain Words” even frames the bombings as part of a war effort: the authors believe that the bombings are justified specifically because they are an act of war in a conflict in which the US government was already an active participant.

The political and ideological motivations highlighted by historians who focus on anarchist violence as “propaganda by deed” are, of course, present in the text of “Plain Words” – the entire text is a piece of propaganda spread through the bombings and does call for a better world as well as revenge. However, if the aim of these attacks was simply a political and strategic one of inspiring mass revolt through violence, their targets and manifesto phrasing would likely have been different. That does not mean that vendetta (and, more generally, gender) make the political motivations irrelevant, but that these different factors complement each other in understanding the history. If anarchists understood the state, especially the wartime state, to be violent, then their masculine code of vendetta meant responding to that violence with their own political violence as a form of vengeance and self-defense; their political views informed their gendered, personal vendetta.

³⁸ As quoted in Bruce Watson, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Men, the Murders, and the Judgment of Mankind* (New York: Viking, 2007), 8.

In addition to acting in the name of the purpose of vendetta, the anarchists explicitly used the idea of family to articulate their wartime position of opposing the war and the peace. The *Cronaca Sovversiva* ran a column throughout multiple issues titled “To the mothers of Italy!” (“*A Le Madri D’Italia!*”), which defended the antimilitarist anarchist Augusto Masetti, who shot his commanding officer in the Italian armed forces.³⁹ Masetti famously cried, “Brothers, stand up!” (“*Fratelli, ribellatevi!*”) and denounced the fatherland or *patria*, saying he loves not the *patria* but *umanita*, humanity. “*A Le Madri D’Italia!*” appealed to the idea that the young men being sent to die in wars were people’s sons. Through this empathetic angle, the article argued for a popular rejection of Italy’s wars and draft system, and called for “insurrection against poverty, ignorance, servitude, [and] war.”⁴⁰ Emotionally, rhetorically, and symbolically, the family was used to denounce the war and call for mass revolt, paralleling (while opposing) how the traditional family was tied to wartime patriotism.

Not only did anarchists use the gendered language of family towards propagandistic ends, but they forged such a close-knit political community that some remarked upon one another as family during these years of repression. Kenyon Zimmer has noted the role played in forming anarchist identity and community through Italian-American counter-culture, he writes, “The anarchists... [celebrated] *Primo Maggio* (May Day), the anniversary of Umberto I’s assassination, and the anarchists’ annual, secularized *feste della frutta* (harvest festivals). These celebrations replaced national and religious

³⁹ Mentana (psued. Luigi Galleani), “A Le Madri D’Italia!”, *Cronaca Sovversiva*. (Lynn, MA.), 11 Oct. 1913. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/2012271201/1913-10-11/ed-1/seq-2/>>

⁴⁰ Ibid.

holidays, creating ‘a counterculture of invented traditions with which to contest the nationalist-clerical hegemony over the immigrants.’”⁴¹ Just as anarchists inverted holiday traditions to create counter-culture, they also created a counter-cultural notion of an invented family. Paul Avrich writes of Ella Antolini, an anarchist who was caught with dynamite and a pistol, “In the anarchists...she found a close-knit, affectionate family, a whole new way of life... she wrote... ‘From the moment I met them they were like my brother and sister (*come fratelli*).” Emma Goldman, meanwhile, wrote “Little Ella, grown into my heart as my own child” after spending time in prison with her.⁴² The anarchists turned to each other not just as comrades, but as a chosen family, with shared traditions, holidays, and networks.

This anarchist familial bond was important for creating an infrastructure for their clandestine activities; for much of the 1910s fugitive anarchists relied on each other for housing, financial and legal assistance, and even emotional support. Indeed, this anarchist community was even a very visible feature of the household, as anarchists protected one another in their homes. Florence Rossi, the daughter of anarchist Augusto Rossi, recalled in an interview that, “One day [Raffaele Schiavina A.K.A. Bruno, editor of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*] brought the subscription list [for the *Cronaca Sovversiva*] to our house on Adams Street to hide. After that he came every Saturday and made up the lists for distributing the paper... One day two government agents came to the house and asked

⁴¹ Zimmer, “The Whole World is Our Country,” 156.

⁴² Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti*, 114.

Father if he knew Raffaele Schiavina. Bruno was right there on the front lawn. Father said, ‘No, I don’t know anybody by that name.’”⁴³

The concept of the family, more than being useful for wartime propaganda or enduring suppression, was used even to explicitly advocate political violence. One of the most infamous texts of the insurrectionist milieu was *La Salute é en Voi!* (Health is Within You!), a bomb-making manual sold through the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. It was actually publicly described as a self-help guide for the proletarian family. This tongue-in-cheek advertisement likely had some truth to it for readers: in their view political violence was necessary not just for bringing about social revolution, but for the good of the family of the working class. This ties back to the concept of vendetta, traditionally a concept used to protect the self or family, which the anarchists turned into protection of their radical community and of the working class. In this way, the masculine-coded vendetta and the feminine-coded family go hand in hand in creating an inverted familial community which anarchists felt they had a duty to protect and avenge.

Wartime and post-WWI anarchist violence was, then, not only a product of the war’s violence and injustices, but a byproduct of discourses on duty, defense, and the family more regularly associated with patriotism. Although they were internationalists who opposed so much about their world, anarchists were still a product of their times, and were transformed by World War I as much as the US government was.

⁴³ Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* (Oakland: AK Press, 2005), 136.

3.7. Conclusion

The war not only catalyzed the escalated violence and repression of the post-World War I years by framing radical internationalists as traitors, but also by causing a cultural shift in discourses on violence, masculinity, and the family. This would allow the counter-terrorist logic of the post-McKinley years to reach a new zenith, as anarchists became physical threats not only to the president, but to the public, to capitalists, and to all those with the authority to orchestrate mass repression. As the next chapter will discuss, this counter-terrorist logic was extended to suppress many sorts of speech beyond calls for revolutionary violence, including a redoubled effort to suppress counter-cultural gender, sexuality, and family politics.

At the turn of the century, the anarchists made the perfect focal point of the much broader ideology of antiradicalism, as their opposition to government along with cases of anarchist violence against heads of state made any supposed rights to free speech or association invalid due to the existential, physical threat they posed to the state. Then, the war broadened and deepened the suppression of anarchism, as anarchists' opposition nationalism and the international character of their movement made them a perceived danger to the war effort and the American nation itself. However, it was this very international character which also made anarchists so difficult to surveil, capture, and deport. Although this repression was sometimes quite easily subverted, both the war and the wartime repression helped provoke heightened political violence, laying further groundwork for the 1919-20 First Red Scare.

While propagating the idea of a radical political family during the war, anarchists also more directly challenged the traditional family, as many were ardent advocates of free

love. This belief in free love was inextricably linked to anarchism's critique of the state (and of traditional Christian values), as Emma Goldman proclaimed in her 1914 essay "Marriage and Love":

Love, the strongest and deepest element in all life, the harbinger of hope, of joy, of ecstasy; love, the defier of all laws, of all conventions; love, the freest, the most powerful moulder of human destiny; how can such an all-compelling force be synonymous with that poor little State and Church-begotten weed, marriage?⁴⁴

The anarchists' advocacy of free love and their then-illegal anti-government views went hand in hand. While anarchists were impacted by the gender politics of wartime America, so too were antiradicals, targeting radicals for perceived threats to traditional patriarchal values. The next chapter will, therefore, discuss the interconnected suppression of political radicalism and counter-cultural ideas of birth control, free love, and family, which began even before the assassination of McKinley with the Comstock Act, but reached new heights during World War I.

⁴⁴ Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays* (New York: Dover, 1969), 236.

CHAPTER 4: THE WAR AT HOME TO DEFEND 'THE HOME': ANTIRADICALISM, GENDER, AND THE FAMILY

4.1. Jack Solomon and Becky Beck: Free Love or White Slavery?

On May 24, 1912, a telegraph was sent from the Immigration and Naturalization Service to Seattle's commissioner-general of Immigration, saying in a coded message, "Arrow Jack Solomon, proctor, anarch; and Becky Beck, immoral, anarch."¹ This telegraphic code was an order to arrest Jack Solomon for importing immigrant for an immoral purpose and for being an anarchist, and to arrest Becky Beck for immigrating to the United States for an immoral purpose and being an anarchist. Having a standard telegraphic code to denote anarchists points to a new efficiency the government had for dealing with the growing concerns over anarchism, but the coupling of "immoral purposes" with Solomon and Beck's anarchism raises some questions about what exactly these concerns entailed.

What were these "immoral purposes" Beck and Solomon were being arrested for? According to one letter from Seattle's commissioner-general of Immigration, the two were "free thinkers, free lovers, Socialists, philosophical... Anarchists, and leading members of the Industrial Workers of the World."² However, the letter continued, "Whether or not they are Anarchists within the meaning of the law is immaterial, as they have been in the United States for more than 3 years." They could not be deported because the 1903 Anarchist

¹ "Telegram to Immigration, Washington, D.C., May 23, 1912," in *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 2.

Note: Solomon's name is spelled several different ways (Salomon, Soloman, etc.) in government and court documents, from his immigration papers to his arrest warrant and trial. I am assuming the spelling used by the defense, "Solomon", to be proper.

² "Letter from Washington Commissioner to Commissioner General, July 5, 1912," in *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 2.

Exclusion Act only allowed for the deportation of anarchists within 3 years of arriving in the country.³ Despite this caveat, Beck and Solomon's politics remained central to the case, although the legal crux of the matter was actually the fact that Beck and Solomon had been "living together as man and wife, and the woman admits that she had previously maintained similar immoral relations with another man."⁴ These "immoral relations" were not technically prostitution "according to the commonly accepted definition of that term," as the Commissioner-General continued, but Beck was still accused of both moral turpitude and prostitution because of her practice of free love.⁵ Because Beck moved in with Solomon for this immoral purpose of free love, which was considered equitable to prostitution, Solomon was treated as a sex trafficker and violator of the White Slave Traffic Act.

According to the Commissioner-General, the Immigration Service was made aware by the case by a "local Jewish society" who were told about the two anarchists by a "branch in England" (where Solomon lived before the United States).⁶ A petition signed by hundreds who supported Beck and Solomon alleges, however, that the instigating letter was actually orchestrated by the owners of B & R Tailors, a company that was facing an IWW strike which Beck and Solomon led.⁷ In July, the warrant for Beck and Solomon was cancelled because, as the acting secretary wrote, "The Department... after carefully reviewing the evidence submitted, is of opinion that the facts do not justify deportation,

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

and regrets that such is the case.”⁸ Although enough authorities felt that there was not legal justification for the deportation of Beck and Solomon (regretfully so, as the letter indicates), their arrest is still very telling of the feelings and desires of many local and federal government officials who attempted to quite literally decide who was or was not an American based on their politics and how they organized their familial, sexual, and domestic lives.

The 1912 case points to how anxieties over anarchism were not just rooted in fears of anarchist terrorism, but government opposition to the counter-cultural gender, familial, and sexual practices of many radicals. As this chapter will show, these anxieties, rather than dissipating after the legal failure of the Beck and Solomon case, grew to a fever pitch during the wartime years, as gender and the family became an increasingly vital driving force of the conflict between anarchists and the government. The counter-cultural familial practices of the anarchists not only informed their use of violence as discussed in Chapter 3, but also informed antiradicalism. The US government’s gendered discourses of loyalism, Americanism, and traditional family became increasingly important through the war and helped to justify the mass deportations of the post-World War I years.

4.2. Background

In her book *Red War on the Family: Sex, Gender, and Americanism in the First Red Scare*, historian Erica J. Ryan argues that the, “[First] Red Scare exposed anxieties deeply woven into the fabric of American culture in the postwar decade, providing social

⁸ “Letter from Washington Commissioner to Commissioner General, July 12, 1912,” in *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Part 6: The Suppression of Radicals*, Reel 2.

conservatives and even some liberal reformers with a script of Americanism through which they could express their concerns about many changes, including changes in the sexual and gender order...”⁹ These concerns were propagated by a number of people espousing the ideology of Americanism for a number of reasons, as Ryan continues,

Under the banner of Americanism, conservatives, nativists, business elites, society women, settlement workers, and ‘super’ patriots – some generally alarmed by the spectre of radicalism, modernism, or feminism, and some acting out of self-interest – reinforced the patriarchal family as a symbol of patriotism and capitalism, a producer of conservative gender norms, a promoter of assimilation, and a tool for social control...¹⁰

Americanism was a nationalistic “loose conservative consensus” that included “widespread beliefs about American superiority, racial superiority, patriarchy, free enterprise, evangelical Protestantism, [and] moral purity.”¹¹ Ryan’s narrative begins in 1919 and focuses on how Americanism and anxieties over Bolshevism in the 1920s came to encompass gender and family norms. Anarchism is mentioned only a few times throughout her book, but points to an earlier formative period in which figures like Emma Goldman “dazzled American radicals and terrified conservatives and elites... with [their] activism against militarism and capitalism and [their] unapologetic support of sexual freedom, birth control, and free love.”¹² What the history of the anarchists and anti-anarchism teaches us is how these anxieties came to be so tightly woven into the fabric of American culture, fueling the First Red Scare as much as they were revealed through it. Although these anxieties pre-dated World War I, the war deepened the antagonism between

⁹ Erica J. Ryan, *Red War on the Family: Sex, Gender, and Family in the First Red Scare* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 166.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 166.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, 53.

anti-militarist, anti-capitalist, free love-advocating radicals and social conservatives who sought to uphold American values from capitalist ideology to the traditional family.

Conscription became a central point of this dispute. In *“Work or Fight!” Race, Gender, and the Draft in World War One*, Gerald E. Shenk explores how the draft was implemented in three states. The Selective Service law, he writes, “mandated separate quotas for ‘white’ and ‘colored’ men, and a complex system of exemptions or discharges based on such things as marital status, fatherhood, and occupation.”¹³ This racialized, gendered draft system “reflected the social order and cultural values prized by property-owning married white men” and showed that “white manhood was tied to control over the material world” as white, married men in “an obedient partnership with the state” were “more fully eligible to exercise the privileges of citizenship.”¹⁴

Where radicals appear in Shenk’s narrative, they temporarily take on a fairly central role in the articulation of the social order he is describing, as the government reacted harshly to the anti-war activities of radicals and used antiradicalism to project an emphatically anti-immigrant Americanization project. For example, Shenk writes, “It was in their responses to radical labor and other opponents to the war and conscription that... [the] white men in charge of the California Council of Defense revealed the more sinister aspects of Americanization,” as the Governor of California sought to “stamp out every trace of disloyal propaganda and sentiment in California.” The governor even proclaimed, “There is not any room in this great commonwealth for cowardly, sneaking, and disloyal

¹³ Gerald E. Shenk, *“Work or Fight!” Race, Gender, and the Draft in World War One* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

element known as the Industrial Workers of the World.”¹⁵ In attempting to stamp out the IWW and the problem of immigrant radicals, the governor also said that, just as Lincoln proclaimed America could not remain “half-slave and half-free,” it was equally true that “America cannot endure half-American and half-something else.”¹⁶ However, although radicals were seemingly important in some sections like the discussion of California’s battle against immigrants and war resisters, they are mentioned only a few times throughout the book, and, although clearly tied to race, aren’t discussed in relation to gender.

In *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*, historian Margot Canaday discusses the policing of sexualities in the United States, with a particular focus on how homosexuality was regulated through immigration policy. The central question of Canaday’s book is, “How did a state that was so late in coming construct such a vast apparatus for policing homosexuality, and why?”¹⁷ The history of antiradicalism and the suppression of counter-cultural conceptions of gender and sexuality points to earlier efforts before Canaday’s period of study to create an apparatus to police sexuality, helping to explain how some precedents were set for the subject of Canaday’s work. In discussing the Progressive Era, Canaday examines some early cases in tying perversion to exclusion, but found only “thirty-one cases in which aliens who were to be excluded or deported for perversion in the first quarter of the century appealed to the commissioner-general of immigration,” presenting the image of a fairly scattered effort to police sexuality before the 1930s.¹⁸ Studying radicals, the family, and the anti-war

¹⁵ Ibid., 146.

¹⁶ Ibid., 146.

¹⁷ Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 2009), 2.

¹⁸ Ibid., 22-23.

movement highlights missing pieces in the history of the policing of sexuality. Whereas there are only scattered cases of excluding people for physical acts of sexual perversion in this period, there was a more systematic effort to control what types of familial configurations (and, by extension, types of romantic and sexual relationships) were considered truly American, and this effort was intertwined with the war effort and with antiradicalism. As this chapter will show, federal power was expressed through an interconnected struggle against free love, anti-war and anti-draft activism, and radicalism.

4.3. Danger to Public Morals: Anarchists and the Comstock Act

Before this specifically anti-anarchist campaign, however, anarchists joined many others in having their speech limited and suppressed for obscenity rather than political ideology. Although attempts to prevent the mailing of abolitionist materials were rejected in 1836, six years later Congress successfully amended the Tariff Act to prevent the importation of obscene writings and pictures. The scope of federal anti-obscenity purviews was greatly expanded in 1873 with the passing of the Comstock Act, which mandated that anyone who sold, published, or possessed obscene or immoral materials, any “drug or medicine, or any article whatever, for the prevention of conception, or for causing unlawful abortion,” would be imprisoned for six months to five years of hard labor or assessed a \$100 to \$2000 fine.

Most famously, Victoria Woodhull, a suffragist and the first female US presidential candidate, was charged under the Comstock Act for sending obscene literature through the mail. The obscene literature in question was an issue of her newspaper that criticized the hypocrisy of an adulterous minister, Henry Ward Beecher, who opposed free love. Anthony Comstock, the namesake for the law, orchestrated the arrest himself, believing that

Woodhull's publication was part of the "leprosy of this vile trash", the trash being all erotic material, which he saw as, "a deadly poison, cast into the fountain of moral purity."¹⁹ Though eventually acquitted, Woodhull's high-profile case brought a great deal of publicity to Comstock's crusade against obscenity.

Several anarchists joined Woodhull in being charged under the Comstock Act for the advocacy of free love and birth control. The most well-known example (even noted this year in publications like *Time Magazine* and *The Nation*) was Emma Goldman's 1916 arrest for distributing information on birth control.²⁰ Goldman wrote an open letter in response to her arrest, saying, "those like myself who are disseminating knowledge [on birth control] are not doing so because of personal gain or because we consider it lewd or obscene. We do it because we know the desperate condition among the masses of workers and even professional people, when they cannot meet the demands of numerous children... when a law has outgrown time and necessity, it must go..."²¹ Goldman's case likely celebrated more open sympathy than some of the earlier obscenity trials: upon her release from prison, over three thousand people came to celebrate her release and obtain information about birth control.²²

Goldman's case was the culmination of a decades' long struggle on the part of anarchists (along with many others, of course) against the Comstock Act and in defense of

¹⁹ As quoted in Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "Victoria Woddhull, Anthony Comstock, and Conflict over Sex in the United States in the 1870s" *The Journal of American History* 87 (2), 419.

²⁰ Lily Rothman, "Read Emma Goldman's 1916 Letter Defending the Need for Birth Control", *Time Magazine*, February 11, 2016, <http://time.com/4208056/emma-goldman-1916-birth-control/>

²¹ Emma Goldman, "Goldman, Emma to 'The Press'" *Emma Goldman Papers*, February 15, 1916, <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/goldman/pdfs/letter14.pdf>

²² Lily Rothman, "Read Emma Goldman's 1916 Letter Defending the Need for Birth Control", *Time Magazine*, February 11, 2016, <http://time.com/4208056/emma-goldman-1916-birth-control/>

access to birth control and freedom of speech. For example, Ezra Heywood, who was an early supporter of Victoria Woodhull, wrote a book titled *Cupid's Yokes* in 1876 that questioned women's lesser status in relationships and in society, called for the abolition of marriage, and argued for the transformation of the economic system.²³ The work even went as far as to criticize Anthony Comstock, equating his opinions to "the spirit that lighted the fires of the Inquisition," and describing him as the "censor of the... opinions of the people in their most important channel of inter-communication [the mail]."²⁴ He wrote that Comstock's relation to Victoria Woodhull "is that of a religious monomaniac, whom the mistaken will of Congress... has empowered to use the Federal Courts to suppress free inquiry."²⁵ After *Cupid's Yokes* was published, anarchist Josephine Tilton was arrested for selling the book. Though she was released due to a weak case against her, Tilton's arrest made Comstock aware of the book. Comstock then ordered a copy of the book under a false name and personally arrested Heywood in November 1877 for writing and selling the immoral work.²⁶

Heywood's defense attorney argued that the Comstock Act was a violation of Heywood's First Amendment rights, but a Supreme Court ruling in another Comstock case at the time upheld the law as constitutional.²⁷ Heywood received a presidential pardon in 1878 amid widespread protests of his arrest. The next year, Comstock arrested Heywood again for mailing *Cupid's Yokes* and two Walt Whitman poems, and for advertising a

²³ Ezra Heywood, *Cupid's Yokes* (Princeton: Cooperative Publishing Company, 1877)

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Patrick Golden, "Ezra Heywood's obscenity trial for Cupid's Yokes" *The Emma Goldman Papers*, 2010, <http://editorsnotes.org/projects/emma/notes/104/>

²⁷ Ibid.

vaginal douching device he named “the Comstock syringe.”²⁸ After a jury found him innocent, Ezra Heywood was arrested by Comstock once again for distributing writings by his wife Angela (who, also an anarchist and free love advocate, was never arrested herself) that advocated “women’s right to prevent conception” and spoke “of the sexual organs in direct language.”²⁹ After protests, the charges were dropped, and then Heywood was arrested by Comstock once again for distributing an article by Angela Heywood on how the Comstock Act discriminated against women, “installing Comstock as a policeman around women’s genitals.”³⁰ Barred from speaking about obscenity itself during the ensuing trial, Heywood was finally found guilty and served a full two-year sentence.

Cases like Woodhull’s and Heywood’s, according to historian Helen Horowitz, allowed “the American public conversation about sex [to take] a truncated shape within new and narrower boundaries.”³¹ This set a precedent for the federal government to set other boundaries on speech as discussed in Chapter 2. Moreover, both delineated boundaries on speech shared the same underlying logic: where actions to exclude or suppress anarchism were based on the physical defense of the state, actions to suppress feminism, non-tradition families or sexualities, or information on contraception were based on the moral defense of the nation: if obscenity corrupted public morals, which in turn disrupted public order, then the state has a right to defend the public order.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Horowitz, “Victoria Woddhull, Anthony Comstock, and Conflict over Sex in the United States in the 1870s”, 434.

4.4. Family and the Policing of Radicalism

Soon after the 1916 Preparedness Day Bombing, a propaganda newsreel was released titled “San Francisco’s Future.”³² Clocking in just under six minutes, the brief film combined footage of the bombing’s aftermath with fear-mongering animations and text about anarchists. It opens with the proclamation “Wake up San Francisco!” over a drawing of the city’s skyline illuminated by animated sunbeams. The film then asks the audience, “Shall we have this?” - as a Grecian goddess drops bags of coins onto the city from above, with the text “PROSPERITY” above her head – “Or shall it be this?” – as dark clouds and flames engulf the skyline, and from the clouds the text “ANARCHY SEDITION LAWLESSNESS” appears.³³ The film then cuts to a drawing of the “IWW Headquarters.” The image of a bomb adorns the door to this headquarters. Bearded men are gathered around a table upon which there is a revolver, a bomb that is smaller than the revolver, a bottle,³⁴ and a newspaper. The man at the front of the table shakes his fist as he delivers an inaudible speech, then he places his hand on the bomb. The film then fades to the same small bomb on the steps of the Hall of Justice.³⁵ The bomb ignites, reducing the large building, its statue of Lady Justice, and its marble pillars to rubble (in contrast to the incredibly powerful, tiny bomb in the film, the 1920 Wall Street bombing involved a horse-drawn carriage full of dynamite which left only dents in the walls). The text “CHOOSE!” then appears, with Lady Justice standing on one side and a newspaper and a

³² Phoebe Apperson Hearst, Claire Rodiester, and James Rolph. *San Francisco’s Future*. Film, 1916. Accessed November 20, 2015. <https://www.loc.gov/item/00694431/>.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ While Molotov cocktails may be associated with contemporary anarchists, they were not used until the Spanish Civil War, so this was most likely just meant to depict alcohol, which is still coded as foreign and on its way to being prohibited.

³⁵ San Francisco’s Hall of Justice actually burned down during a 1906 earthquake, so the depicted Hall of Justice was constructed just a few years before the film was made.

bearded man holding a bomb on the other. The film ends on the note, “Citizens of San Francisco[,] save our fair city from further disgrace.”

This film highlights how the ideological war against anarchists was interconnected with wartime propaganda. First of all, the film equates anarchism with sedition and lawlessness. Then, the burning skyline, the blown up Hall of Justice, and the choice between Lady Liberty and an anarchist, all present anarchists as a threat to the city itself, its institutions, and its values. Moreover, the anarchist newspaper is presented alongside the bomb in every drawing of the anarchist, framing anarchist ideas as a very real, even violent threat to the institutions and values holding society together. Anarchist opposition to the war – and anarchist ideas in general – were seen as tantamount to sedition. Anarchists were to be feared as both a threat to American values and as an exaggerated physical threat, where a small bomb could blow up a marble courthouse and set a city ablaze, truly bringing the war to America.

More than just being emblematic of war propaganda, however, this wartime anti-anarchism, like the wartime anarchist violence discussed in Chapter 3, was very informed by discourses surrounding gender and the family. Before the Preparedness Day newsreel ends, the film then shows actual footage of the Preparedness Day Parade, asking, “Is your boy or your neighbors [*sic*] boy in this group?” This appeal to parenthood in opposition to anarchist violence echoes the sentiment of the anarchists’ appeal to the mothers of Italy in opposition to militarism discussed in Chapter 3. Anarchists were not only viewed as physical threats to families, however, but also as moral threats to the very idea of the family.

It was somewhat common for an individual's alleged anarchism to be bound up with their views on the war (even into the years following the war), their patriotism, and their views on the family. For example, the commissioner general of Immigration wrote of Udo Rall, a German-American who was interned during the war, that he "is a philosophical anarchist [and] is anti-American, a conscientious objector against marriage and American conventions and laws and is altogether undesirable."³⁶ Note the phrase "conscientious objector against marriage," which suggests an assumed link between the two labels, rather than being phrased as a separated list ("a conscientious objector, an opponent of marriage..." and so on). Despite being written in March 1920, one memo about Rall also noted he was anti-American and pro-German, highlighting the staying power of the wartime discourses of loyalty and patriotism.³⁷

This multipronged approach of criminalizing individuals for a variety of views on issues ranging from marriage to the war was also applied to organizations. When deporting anarchists, the government often pointed to each individual's organizational affiliations. In fact, this was the most common approach to deporting anarchists; one study performed in 1921 found that, out of 200 studied anarchist deportation cases from 1919 to 1920, only 47 were not determined to have been members of anarchistic organizations.³⁸ Rather than having to prove that an individual's thoughts contained anarchist beliefs or having evidence of an individual's involvement in insurrectionary activity, the government could simply

³⁶ United States. Congress. House. Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Communist and Anarchist Deportation Cases: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Sixty-sixth Congress, Second Session. April 21 to 24, 1920*, 31.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

³⁸ Constantine Panunzio, *Deportation Cases of 1919-20* (Reprint, Da Capo Press, New York: 1970), 52.

point to the individual's membership or involvement with a handful of organizations that it already considered to be anarchist.

One of these organizations was the Ferrer Modern School. The Bureau of Immigration argued that the Ferrer Modern School was a "cult [that] finds expression in but few of the anarchistic doctrines... [including] a uniform failure of any of the [members] to purchase Liberty bonds or war savings stamps, the failure on the part of all concerned to exhibit an American emblem...[and] although free love is not practiced nor encouraged, and the children are not permitted to run about naked in the hot weather, their code provides for liberalism and respect for living and no insistence is made upon the marriage state; they believe it is no concern of theirs whether a man and a woman are married..."³⁹ Not buying war bonds and even a vague "liberalism" in regards to marriage was considered evidence of an organization's anarchism. In turn, by connecting anxieties over issues like free love to anarchism, the government further reinforced the idea that radicalism was dangerous to the nation.

Like the Bureau of Immigration, the Bureau of Investigation included gender and family as a part of their investigation into whether or not one was guilty of the crime of being an anarchist. If accused anarchists showed evidence of being Americanized, from having a traditional family to associating with American citizens and being diligent workers, they would often have investigations or warrants against them cancelled. One report by a federal agent reported that Lino Canova, who had been accused of being an anarchist by his supervisor at a hat factory, was not actually an anarchist in part because he

³⁹ Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Communist and Anarchist Deportation Cases*, 42.

“resides with an American family of good reputation in a good neighborhood... and has apparently attended strictly to his business since coming out West.”⁴⁰

Residing with a specifically American family was important for exempting Canova from suspicion, as even association with foreigners was suspect. For example, an investigation of an accused anarchist Charles Vercota and his family found that “neighbors had noticed nothing wrong about them, excepting the visits of what appeared to be foreigners to their house [and] they [the family of the accused anarchist] would not go to church with them [the neighbors], although invited.”⁴¹ This demonstrates how citizens like Vercota’s neighbors and federal agents alike were invested in maintaining normative familial configurations

Even more suspect was violating traditional family models altogether. One report filed by a Bureau of Investigation agent claimed that “Teddy Balentine [Ballantine], who purports to be the legal husband of Stella Comyn, niece of Emma Goldman – an active anarchist agitator, is not the husband of Stella Comyn, but is a bigamist.” Ballantine was actually in a monogamous relationship with Comyn, and his bigamy charge (which was also a category of exclusion in US immigration law) was really for divorcing from 2 previous wives without approval of the courts, a process which was highly expensive in his native England.

Advocating free love was seen as evidence of anarchism, and therefore helped form grounds for deportation. In contrast, those who had a traditional marriage and family would sometimes be exempt from deportation. Not only were accused anarchists viewed

⁴⁰ National Archives and Records Administration, “Investigative Reports of the Bureau of Investigation 1908-1922” Case Number 383200

⁴¹ Ibid., Case Number 8000-229209

as less suspicious if they had families, as in Lino Canova's case above, but even admitted anarchists would sometimes receive leniency if they had families. For example, in May 1919, Alex Snellenberg was not deported because, "While he [had] practically admitted that he is a philosophical anarchist... this man has a family here and his deportation would impose considerable hardship upon them, [therefore] the bureau is of opinion that final action in the case should be deferred for a further period of six months."⁴² While the hardships of deportation were not a consideration for those with non-traditional families, Snellenberg received leniency, as he was ultimately ordered to report to the government every three months on his employment and activities in lieu of deportation.

Given that the defense of the traditional family was used to justify the suppression of radicals, it is with some irony that sympathy for the families of anarchists would help inform the backlash against the mass deportations of 1919 and 1920. In 1921, the Commission on the Church and Social Service published a report on *The Deportation Cases of 1919-20* that, while far from sympathetic to the radicals' views, decried their treatment from a Christian perspective. Following a chapter outlining the poor, sometimes even torturous conditions faced by imprisoned radicals, the report featured a chapter titled "How the Aliens' Families were Affected." The Commission felt that its report "would not be complete without a statement concerning those aliens who were deported," and therefore presented a study of "the mental suffering [and] the economic distress caused by the removal of the sole bread-winner of the family."⁴³ Among the examples used to illustrate this aspect of the deportations was the case of one accused anarchist who asked

⁴² Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Communist and Anarchist Deportation Cases*, 128.

⁴³ Panunzio, *Deportation Cases of 1919-20*, 85.

to be freed or shot, as he was worried his wife would commit suicide if he were deported.⁴⁴ The report also highlighted the “charity” received by families of deportees, often by radical workers’ organizations.

4.5. Conclusion

Solomon and Beck’s 1912 deportation case for anarchism and moral turpitude highlights how anxieties over radicalism and counter-cultural family and gender values were becoming increasingly intertwined. The war drove the government to spread a stricter definition of Americanism, that included not just nationalist loyalty as discussed in Chapter 3, but a narrower spectrum of acceptable political views and the further reinforcement of traditional gender and family roles. During and immediately following the war, both competing and mirroring discourses on gender, the family, and wartime duty helped mobilize the anarchists to violence and the government to repression as discussed in Chapter 3. However, rather than being a simple, binary conflict between the free love of radicals and the traditional family of Americanists, the discourse of the family even instructed the public backlash against the First Red Scare. Ultimately, not only does this cultural conflict help us better understand what led to extraordinary events like the anarchist bombings and mass deportation of radicals, but, more broadly, it contextualizes the social conservatism of the 1920s and the early federal policing of gender and sexuality.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 91-92.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The First Red Scare and the Palmer Raids are often framed as an immediate reaction to the terrorism of the late 1910s, the wartime strike activity of the IWW, and the Bolshevik Revolution. However, these raids were clearly the culmination of a systematic, nationwide effort to exclude radicals and their ideas from the country over the course of decades. This effort was indeed connected in many ways to counter-terrorism and the suppression of industrial unionism, but it also had much broader motivations and impacts as it was interlinked with a number of cultural discourses on nationalism, loyalty, gender, and the family.

This Long Red Scare was not merely an effort to get rid of anarchist terrorism, but to delineate what sort of ideas, values, and people belonged in the United States. The project of antiradicalism reveals how many in the Progressive Era were shaping the very idea of America, as the nation was defined through political and moral characteristics which were explicitly contrasted with the immigrant radical. The federal government's efforts to put antiradical policies into practice then show how the government articulated its suppression of certain ideas and enforcement of certain morals. As the government framed the fight to suppress anarchism as a national priority of utmost importance, as an act of existential self-defense, and as part of the war effort, even values and ideas associated with anarchists faced the full force of the federal government. This long history of antiradicalism puts events like the 1920 bombing of Wall Street and the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti into perspective, but the implications of the Long Red Scare reach beyond the story of anarchism alone. The far-reaching repressive and exclusionary practices of the US government in this period of antiradicalism, and the justifications for such practices,

have clear echoes in the future policing of sexuality, in McCarthyism, and in counter-terrorism.

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